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THE ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO

A HANDBOOK
OF
THE EGYPTIAN COLLECTION

BY

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO • WITH
THE CO-OPERATION OF THE ORIENTAL
INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
JAMES HENRY BREASTED DIRECTOR



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PREFACE

The Egyptian objects referred to herein consist of original antiquities and of casts. They bear such numbers as 94.299 or 12.1176, where the two figures before the point indicate the year of acquisition, and those after it a consecutive numbering of the objects acquired within the year.¹

Chief emphasis has, of course, been laid upon originals. The casts, however, are essential to discussion of the statuary and reliefs. Illustrations available either in the volumes of the Ryerson Library or mounted in the swinging wall-frames have also been drawn upon. The Egyptian objects exhibited have been chosen primarily from the artistic point of view for which the Art Institute stands. With the scope of the collection thus limited, it has seemed best to treat it chiefly according to the nature of the objects.

To increase the general usefulness of the "Handbook," reproductions of many Art Institute pieces, including the less usual ones, are incorporated. Study of the objects has been facilitated by the cordial attitude of the Art Institute staff and employees. Books referred to in the footnotes are mostly to be found in the Ryerson Library.² It is a pleasure to acknowledge indebtedness to the various authors there named. In pursuing its policy of co-operating with other institutions in the study of their collections, much assistance has been given by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. The writer would also express his special appreciation of the personal interest and suggestions of its director, Professor James Henry Breasted, the honorary curator of the Art Institute's Egyptian collection, and of Dr. Caroline Ransom Williams, formerly of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

¹ Those which could not be identified with entries in the "Register" have been numbered in an x series. A few other numbers are in an H series.

² Such as are lacking there may be consulted at the University of Chicago.

SYMBOLS EMPLOYED

Translations of inscriptions are printed in italics. Signs used are as follows:

- () *explanatory additions.*
- < > *careless omissions by the Egyptian scribe, restored from similar texts.*
- [] *lost, but restored from similar texts.*
- ↑ ↑ *translation uncertain.*
- *passage in original either omitted in translation or lost.*

As to proper names: The Egyptian writing consists of consonants only. The vowels to be pronounced with them are usually unknown. Hence the infinite variety of spellings of Egyptian proper names by modern authors. This "Handbook," following recent practice, has supplied the approximate vocalization in some cases where it has been preserved by Greek or Coptic writers. Elsewhere, certain weak Egyptian consonants have been made to do duty as the related vowel-sounds a, i, and u. Other cases of unpronounceability have been avoided by insertion of an e.

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INTRODUCTION

THE COURSE OF EGYPTIAN HISTORY

Of all the great nations through which the current of civilization upon this earth has flowed, Egypt was the first to arise and the longest to endure. "The gift of the Nile" Egypt has been truly called. Its great river flows northward out of the heart of Africa past six successive granite barriers, the Cataracts. Of these the northernmost, called the First, forms the beginning of Egypt proper. The upper valley seems a mere ribbon of fertility, narrowly hemmed in on both sides by the cliffs which bound the adjoining desert plateaus. Then, approaching the sea, the valley expands at last into the broad triangle of the Delta, where rich soil deposited by countless successive inundations has even filled up an ancient bay of the Mediterranean.

Some thousands of years before Christ the Delta, though still quite swampy, could support a population. Both there and along the upper river were scattered small, independent settlements. These coalesced, somewhere in the gray dawn of history, into two kingdoms: Lower Egypt, embracing the Delta, in the north; and Upper Egypt, embracing the long, narrow valley lying between there and the First Cataract, in the south. Some time during the fifth millennium the north conquered the south, and a line of at least ten kings ruled the united land.¹ Within this period, at about 4241 B.C., the epoch-making Egyptian calendar was introduced.² Causes still unseen resulted in the break-up of this first union. It was not until about 3500 B.C. that the state was reconsolidated. The new conqueror was Menes of Upper Egypt, who moved his capital downstream and founded what is regularly known as the First Dynasty.³ The memory of the two earlier kingdoms lasted, how-

¹ This information is due to Professor Breasted's recent study of the Cairo fragments of early Egyptian annals. The territories included in this earliest union were not necessarily coextensive with those later subject to Menes.

² Cf. Breasted's illuminating introduction to Egyptian chronology in his *Ancient records of Egypt*, vol. 1, secs. 38-75.

³ The kings of united Egypt down to Alexander's conquest were grouped into thirty dynasties by Manetho, an Egyptian priest, in his history of Egypt written in Greek for

ever, throughout Egyptian history; the royal title always remained a combination: "King of Upper Egypt and King of Lower Egypt," often with the added epithet "Lord of the Two Lands."

Four or five centuries later, after frequent internal struggles, a highly centralized state was developed. This, the so-called Old Kingdom, lasted roughly from 3000 to 2500 B.C. The pharaohs of this brilliant but despotic period of five hundred years left as their most distinctive achievement their massive tombs, the mighty pyramids of Gizeh and vicinity. But appointive offices tended to become hereditary; and the local officials, gradually transformed into great nobles, overthrew their suzerains of the VI. Dynasty. So the Old Kingdom passed away (about 2500 B.C.), and local princes again fought for control of the divided nation.

During the twenty-second century a family of Thebes, far up river, established itself as the XI. Dynasty. It was followed by another Theban family, the XII. Dynasty, which ruled until 1788. This period of less than four hundred years, centering around the year 2000 B.C., we call from its position in time the Middle Kingdom, or from its nature the Feudal Age of Egypt. It witnessed the conquest of Nubia to beyond the Second Cataract, as well as systematic internal development. Now, too, the language became standardized, and a classic literature arose.

After another dark era, during part of which the mysterious foreign Hyksos held Egypt in subjection, it was again a Theban family which brought in the third and most splendid great epoch, the Empire. The Hyksos were driven back into Asia by 1580. Successive conquests by the XVIII. Dynasty pharaohs who followed extended the borders of Egypt from the Fourth Cataract of the Nile on the south to the upper Euphrates in Asia. The booty which resulted from this great expansion made possible works of monumental magnificence such as the world had never known before. Then about 1400 B.C. came a premature attempt by King Ikhnaton to establish a solar monotheism. The world-view which had dawned in politics, as revealed in the cuneiform Amarna letters (international diplomatic correspondence found on the site of Ikhnaton's capital), had led in religion also to a world-view which could see *all* races and peoples as the work of *one* creator. But Ikhnaton's

Ptolemy I (305-285 B.C.). His grouping, which survives only in variously garbled quotations by later writers, was long the only system available. Though often unscientific, its extensive use in the past has so firmly fixed it in the literature of Egyptology that modern historians find it advisable still to retain it.

vision was too great for lesser minds; and even the mighty king, alone, could not for long withstand the flood of inherited tradition and belief. In the resulting internal upheaval the Asiatic empire was neglected. It dwindled away, and was never completely recovered even by the spectacular conflicts of Ramses II (the Great) of the XIX. Dynasty against the culminating Hittite power of Asia Minor. The pharaohs of the XX. Dynasty (twelfth century B.C.) were engaged in even more desperate struggles against both the Libyans who lived west of the Delta and migratory hordes of European peoples who now first fall under the gaze of history.

Besides dangers from abroad, the priesthoods of Egypt, who had been liberally remembered in the distribution of spoils, had by 1100 become so powerful that the high priests of Amon, the state god of the Empire, actually gained the throne and made of Thebes a priestly state dependent on the oracles of their god. The Delta fell under the sway of another family, and but for politic intermarriages the nation would have been permanently divided.

Another tendency, also rooted in the policies of the Empire, contributed to its downfall. The Libyan Sheshonk of Bubastis, whose ancestors had been welcomed as foreign mercenaries in the Egyptian army, secured the throne about 945 B.C. and founded the XXII. Dynasty. Other city-lords aspired, of course, to the same larger goal. Their struggles with one another paved the way for other foreign conquests. With Asia permanently lost, the province of Nubia, too, by now largely Egyptianized, finally fell away from decadent Egypt and became an independent kingdom modeled on the priestly Theban state. By 721 its kings were invading their spiritual mother Egypt. They succeeded ultimately in establishing themselves as the XXV. Dynasty. But these Ethiopians were not equal to defending the land from Assyria, now nearing the zenith of her power. Esarhaddon conquered the Delta in 670, and his son Ashurbanipal extended his sway to Upper Egypt. Then, as Assyria fell into difficulties on all her Asiatic borders, her Egyptian vassal, Psamtik of Sais, succeeded with the aid of Greek mercenaries in gaining his independence and suppressing the other feudal lords.

With Psamtik begins the Renaissance (XXVI. Dynasty). Old Kingdom customs and observances were restored to use: life upon its surface showed an antiquarian cast. But the old beliefs, even the old

language, were no longer understood. The currents of thought and action had been essentially modified by the passage of two thousand years. Egypt's own civilization had long since spent its creative force.

The attempt to put new wine into old bottles was almost ended in 525 by the Persian conquest. The Persians themselves constitute Manetho's XXVII. Dynasty. The XXVIII.-XXX. Dynasties represent revolters who temporarily restored native rule. Since then Egypt has fallen to the Greek Alexander and his successors the Ptolemies, to imperial Rome, to the Arab hosts of Islam, to the Turks, briefly to the French under Napoleon, and in our day to enlightened British control, and finally to independence under British auspices. The accompanying table may make clearer the long panorama of Egyptian history.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EGYPTIAN HISTORY

PREHISTORIC AND PREDYNASTIC PERIOD

Approximate Date	
	City-states.
	Two kingdoms: Delta and Upper Egypt.
Before 4241 B.C.	Unification under the North.
	Two kingdoms again.

DYNASTIC PERIOD

Dynasty	
3500?-2980? B.C. I-II	Unification under the South.

OLD KINGDOM

2980?-2475? B.C. III-VI	Centralized power. Pyramids.
2475?-2160? B.C. VII-X	Internal struggles. Heracleopolitans most prominent (IX-X).

MIDDLE KINGDOM

2160?-2000 B.C. XI	Reunification.
2000-1788 B.C. XII	Feudal Age. Internal development. Literature.
1788-1580 B.C. XIII-XVII	Internal struggles. Hyksos invasion (XV-XVI).

EMPIRE

1580-1350 B.C.	Dynasty XVIII	Greatest territorial expansion. Monotheism.
1350-1200 B.C.	XIX	} On the defensive.
1200-1150 B.C.	XX (beginning)	

DECADENCE

1150-1090 B.C.	XX (end)	Asia lost. Delta becomes independent.
1090-945 B.C.	XXI	Priests rule at Thebes.
945-712 B.C.	XXII-XXIV	LIBYAN Period.
721-655 B.C.	incl. XXV	NUBIAN Period.
670-660 B.C.		ASSYRIA in partial control.

RENAISSANCE OR RESTORATION (SAITE AGE)

663-525 B.C.	XXVI	Archaism. Foreign influences, especially Greek.
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CONTINUOUS FOREIGN CONTROL

525-332 B.C.	XXVII-XXX	PERSIAN (XXVII). Native revolters (XXVIII-XXX).
332-30 B.C.		GREEK. Alexander and the Ptolemies.
30 B.C.-640 A.D.		ROMAN and BYZANTINE.
640-1517 A.D.		ARAB. Rulers independent after 969.
1517-1882 A.D.		TURKISH. Egypt soon semi-independent.
1798-1801 A.D.		FRENCH. Napoleon's expedition.
1882-1922 A.D.		BRITISH OCCUPATION. Protectorate since 1914.
1922 A.D.		Independence recognized.

NOTES ON EGYPTIAN ART

The Egyptian possessed an innate love of beauty. But his enjoyment of art was never primarily for art's sake; he endeavored rather to make his *utilitarian* objects *beautiful* as well. Pleasing forms were usual even in the household dishes of stone or pottery; while incised and painted *decoration* were applied not only on a small scale, but even to the wide expanses of great temple walls.

With so universal an appeal to meet, it is not surprising that the great majority of Egyptian artistic remains were produced by artisans rather than master artists. And even the great artist might not venture to perpetuate his name. Signatures, even disguised, are practically lacking.¹

Minglings of primitive concepts in religion with a later anthropomorphism are responsible for the strange combinations of human and animal form so prevalent in representations of Egyptian gods. To the inherent conservatism of religion is due also in part that conventionality superficially so apparent, which yet helped to raise the work of craftsmen to a higher average level than might otherwise have been attained. Another cause of what seems conventionality to us is the Egyptian's attitude toward truth. In reproducing objects as they appear to us, perspective in modern drawing violates the facts of size and shape. The Egyptian preferred rather to stick to these facts even at the expense of combining different points of view.

The following pages deal largely with things that have come from tombs. But we must realize that the Egyptian's thoughts, like ours, were centered primarily on life. It is chiefly because tombs were located in the dry desert margins that the equipment of the future life has been preserved while that left in the towns beside the river has perished.

¹ In the tomb of Ptahhotep at Sakkara the artist has, in an often published wall-relief, included himself with other members of the noble's household in a picnic on the river. See, e.g., Davies, *Mastaba of Ptahhetep . . .*, pt. I, pl. xxv and p. 10. Again, in the tomb of Huy at Tell el-Amarna, published, e.g., in Davies, *Rock tombs of El Amarna* pt. 3, pl. xviii, the chief sculptor of the great king's-wife Tiy, Yuty, is seen painting a statue of the princess Beketaton. Another artist, Huy, seems to have pictured himself in a Theban tomb. Erman discusses this last with other instances in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. 42 (1905), p. 128.

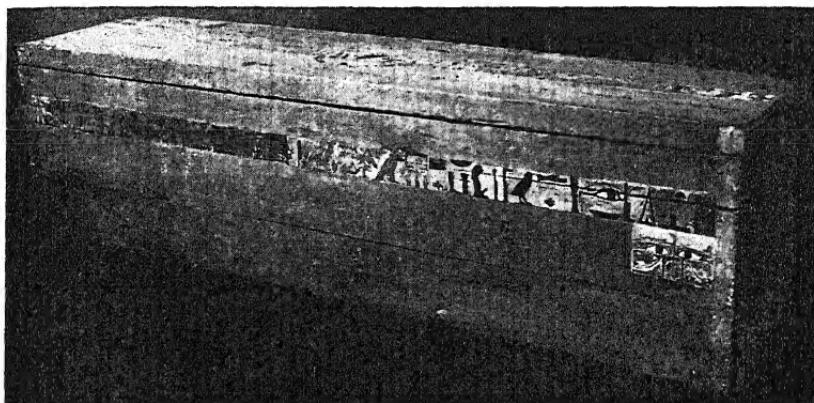
HISTORY OF THE EGYPTIAN COLLECTION

Though the Art Institute of Chicago was incorporated in 1879, its Egyptian collection dates from 1885 only. Accessions during the eighties consisted of casts of Egyptian sculpture given by Mrs. Addie M. Hall Ellis as part of the collection of casts named in honor of her deceased husband, Elbridge G. Hall. The first original Egyptian object was an ushebtu (90.30) given by the enthusiastic Amelia B. Edwards of England from excavations of the Egypt Exploration Fund which she had recently founded. In 1891 a few objects from the Piot sale were presented by William T. Baker. Then in 1892 began a long succession of notable gifts from Henry H. Getty, Norman W. Harris, and Charles L. Hutchinson. This included in 1894 the purchase of a complete collection gathered by Rev. Chauncey Murch, an American missionary at Luxor—the largest and most comprehensive Egyptian accession which the Art Institute has received. In the same year also Robert H. Fleming presented a papyrus Book of the Dead. Among gifts secured through the Antiquarian Society are two selections of textiles, one consisting of Coptic tapestries, the other of delicate linen mummy wrappings, given by Martin A. Ryerson in 1900 and 1909 respectively. To Mr. Ryerson likewise is due a series of early relief sculptures purchased in 1910. Three gilded mummy masks received at the same time were given by the Misses Elizabeth and Frederika Skinner. The handsome mummy case 10.238 is one of the treasures bought by the W. M. Willner Fund. The Egypt Exploration Fund (now Society) has continued to send occasional specimens, of which a blue marble vase in the form of a swan (11.451) deserves special mention. Several distinctive pieces, chiefly of relief sculpture, were purchased in Egypt in 1920 through the courtesy of Professor James Henry Breasted while conducting an expedition to the Near East for the University of Chicago. Mrs. E. Crane Chadbourne's gifts in 1922 included a huge wooden cat besides the two Graeco-Egyptian paintings described in chap. xiii. The growth of the Egyptian section in its later, as in its earlier, years has been due chiefly to the initiative and often to the individual generosity of the honored president of the Art Institute, Mr. Charles L. Hutchinson.

I

COFFINS AND THEIR ACCESSORIES

Nature unaided had at first preserved the bodies of the Egyptian dead. Laid in the sandy desert, they had merely desiccated. With the greater protection furnished in historic times by masonry tombs had come also greater danger of decay. So processes of mummification were developed. The preservatives used were of two main types: (1) resin, gum, or pitch and (2) natron.¹ The latter, a salt and soda



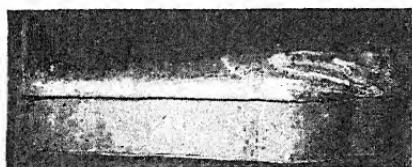
94.368

compound, was especially abundant in the Wadi Natrun west of the Delta. After treatment, the body was wrapped in yards upon yards of linen bandages, then shrouded and placed within the coffin.

In the primitive pit tombs in the desert gravel, the body lay regularly upon the side, with knees drawn up to the chin. For some centuries after burials began to be made at full length in coffins, the body was

¹ See Lucas in *Journal of Egyptian archaeology*, vol. 1 (1914), p. 241 and 119. Other analyses are given in Dr. Louis Reutter's book, *De l'embaumement avant et après J.-C.* (Paris, 1912). The history and methods of Egyptian mummification are traced briefly by Professor G. Elliot Smith in the journal just quoted, p. 189-96. For more details see his *Royal mummies* (in the Cairo Catalogue).

still laid upon the side. Hence the proportions of 94.368 (see p. 9), a coffin of cedar imported from Lebanon. It dates from the Middle Kingdom, probably XI. Dynasty (before 2000 B.C.), and was found at Deir el-Bahri, one of the cemeteries of ancient Thebes. It is a plain, rectangular box, higher than it is wide, resting on four crosspieces. The flat cover is slightly vaulted within; the curve is shown by the detached cleat, which belongs inside across the center. The whole is put together with wooden pins. For ornamentation white paint was used to give an effect of corner posts and as background for bands of black inscription. These are prayers for the benefit of the occupant. The line along the cover reads: *A royal offering of Anubis, lord of Sepa, presider over the hall of*



94.369

the god, that he (the dead) may journey in peace upon the goodly paths of the other world: a mortuary offering of bread and beer, oxen and geese, for the revered one, Sededu.

Similar prayers to Anubis again

and to Osiris occupy the bands to

right and left of the mummy. The petition to Osiris asks in addition for *goodly breath in his tomb in the cemetery*. A rectangular frame below it incloses two sacred eyes, painted at the head end, just opposite the eyes of the deceased as he lay within on his left side. By this magic means he might look forth from his coffin. The inscriptions on head and foot ends mention respectively *Isis* and *Nephthys*, the two sisters of Osiris and protectresses of the dead. The interior is entirely blank. Bits of linen wrappings, now lying on top, were stuck to the inside of the box as found; but the mummy itself is missing.

Even during the Middle Kingdom coffins had begun to imitate in shape the mummies they contained, which were then laid on their backs. This new type lasted into Roman times. It is illustrated in the other three coffins exhibited. The first of these (94.369) is a deep mummiform wooden coffin of the XXI. Dynasty (about 1000 B.C.), from Thebes. It once contained the body of a *treasury scribe of the estate of Amon* named *Nesipahirhet*,¹ but the mummy has disappeared. This coffin, like its

¹ Lieblein, *Dictionnaire des noms hiéroglyphiques*, no. 2544b, notes among names on minor objects from a cache of priestly burials discovered at Deir el-Bahri in 1891 (the same find from which came many of the ushebtis described in chap. iv) a *Nesipahirehnet* who bears the same titles as our *Nesipahirhet*. It is quite possible that the same man is meant, and

predecessor of over a thousand years before, consists of the two parts, box and cover, but is more complicated in construction. The face on the cover is carved, and, like the hands folded across the breast, is attached by wooden pins. A beard (now lost) was doweled on. Since the feet were rather carelessly modeled in the wood, their contours were filled out with clay. This was then coated with stucco, painted, and varnished like the rest of the surface. Expensive coffins were sometimes inlaid with colored stones. The effect of inlay or relief is here secured by modeling many of the figures on the cover in stucco before painting.



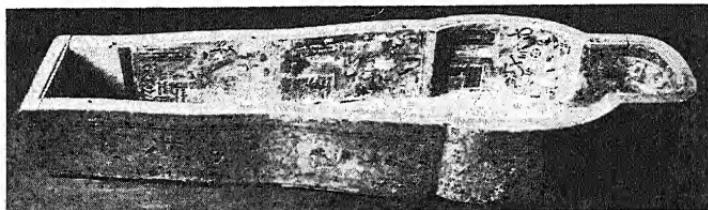
94.369

Ceremonial straps of red leather with yellow (i.e., undyed) binding, and ending in yellow tabs, are shown crossed upon the chest. A broad collar with flower pendants hangs down to the waist; below appear the winged sun disk, the winged sky goddess Nut, and squares showing the soul as a human-headed bird in the presence of Osiris, Anubis, and other deities. Interspersed are figures of Osiris and of Horus guarded by goddesses (presumably Isis and Nephthys) with outspread wings, also

that the coffin which belonged with the minor objects is that now in the Art Institute. Note, too, a papyrus fragment belonging to Tayuhenutmut, 'daughter' of a *treasury scribe* *Nesipahrenhet*, described in chap. xii.

Other coffins from the Deir el-Bahri find of 1891 are treated in detail in the *Beschrijving van de Egyptische verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van oudheden te Leiden*, pt. 8. For part of those in the Cairo Museum see Chassinat, *La seconde trouvaille de Deir el-Bahari* (in the Cairo Catalogue).

the sun god Khepri as a beetle and a squatting god with palm branches symbolizing *millions of years*. Lines of petitions for offerings occur both over the legs and feet and along the edges of the cover. They appear at still greater length along the upper edges of the box, where on each side Re-Harakhte, Atum, Osiris, and Anubis are besought to give food and clothing to the deceased Nesipahirhet. The band of scenes below on the right side of the mummy, beginning at the head end, represents: (1) Apes worshiping the sun. (2) The soul before Hathor. (3) The soul before Anubis. (4) Osiris enthroned, while Hathor brings before

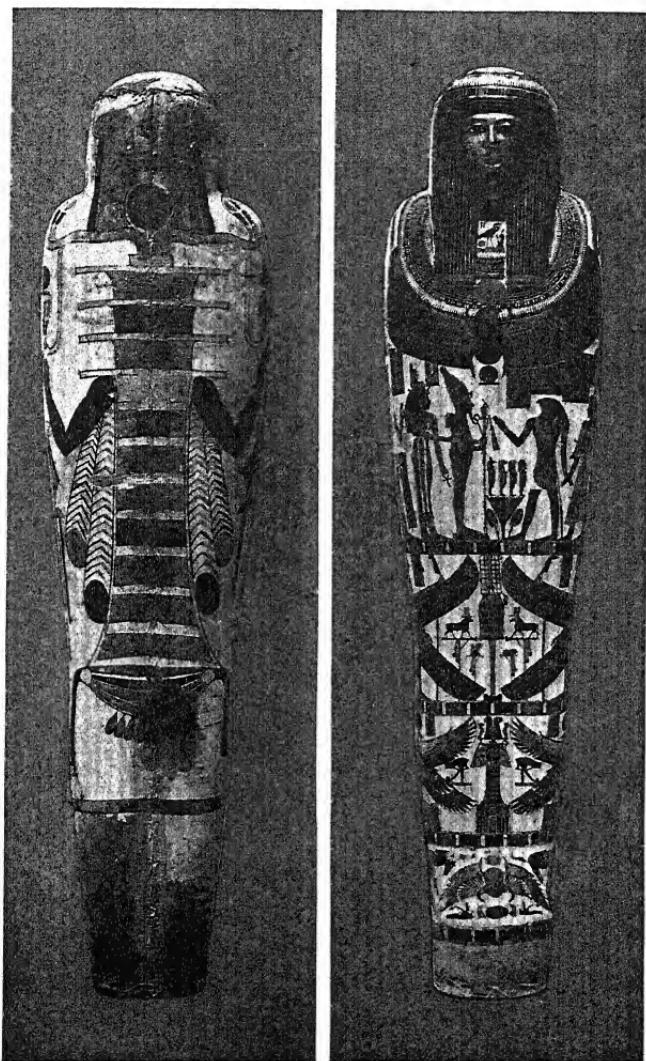


94.369

him the deceased. At the latter's nose she holds the symbol of *life*. Behind him follow three demons and the goddess Sekhmet. (5) Deceased pouring libation to Anubis. Between them are the four Horus-sons on a lotus blossom. (6) Isis the Great, as a tree goddess, pouring libation. The left side is similar, but scenes 2 and 3 are interchanged. Scene 5 shows the soul as a human-headed bird facing toward Anubis, while the libation is offered by a little human figure below to the jackal (representing Anubis again) who lies extended under the following scene. Scene 6 here pictures the tomb within the western cliffs of Thebes, from which strides forth the cow emblematic of Hathor, mistress of the West. The box, but not the cover, is decorated also on the inside: Isis with her sheltering wings is the main figure on the bottom, while along the side walls are seated other mortuary deities, each one under his own starry sky. The protecting coat of varnish, both inside and out, has discolored, so that the white background is now yellowed and the blue appears as dark green.

Use of several coffins, sometimes as many as four, one inside the other, was frequent. The innermost of these receptacles might now be reduced to a mere shell of cartonnage.¹ Such is 10.238, a mummy

¹ Linen in many layers glued together and coated with stucco.



case with pedestal base in the style of the XXII. Dynasty (about 900 B.C.). The gilded face, beardless and with delicately refined features, agrees with the slight proportions of the case as a whole in suggesting a lady as the occupant. But the inscription names instead a man, Pankhain, a doorkeeper of the temple of Amon; and the figure painted below, being led before Osiris, is that of a man with beard. As the body has never been unwrapped, its identity remains thus uncertain. Returning to the case, the head wears a fillet, within the circle of which appears the sun god Khepri as a winged beetle with sun disk and uraei. Below the broad collar on the chest Khepri is seen again in similar form but this time hawk-headed like the solar Horus. Then comes the presentation of the deceased by Horus before Osiris. The latter is accompanied by his sister-wife Isis and his other sister Nephthys, whose names appear upon their heads as well as in the inscriptions beside them. Osiris is as usual in mummy form; but his exposed face and hands are colored green, for he was the god of vegetation and fertility as well as ruler of the dead. The text referring to him stands above the arm of Horus: *A royal offering of Osiris, presider over the West, the great god, lord of Abydos, Wennofer, ruler of eternity.* The lines following belong with Horus and his protégé: *Utterance by Horus, the son of Osiris, the great god, lord of the sky: May he give a mortuary offering of foods and viands, oxen and geese, incense, clothing, and every good and pure thing for Osiris the door-keeper of the temple of Amon, Pankhain, deceased, son of the doorkeeper of the temple of Amon, Ainkha, deceased, son of Ankhefenkhonsu.* These names and titles suggest that Pankhain lived and died at Thebes. Before Osiris are the four Horus-sons on their lotus flower. In the scene below, the primitive fetish of Abydos¹ is flanked by standards with the ram of Mendes (another of the Osirian cities), the whole protected by the winged goddesses Maat and Hathor (who here take the places of Isis and Nephthys). The bottom panel pictures Horus of Edfu as a hawk on guard with the sacred eyes at each side of the Osiris pillar. The winged Khepri, eyes, sun disk, and uraei appear again over the feet. Interstices at the shoulders contain Isis and Nephthys as lion-headed serpents; four other niches are filled by other-world demons bearing knives. The varnish which was applied over these designs has turned

¹ This symbol originated as a wig set up on a pole, adorned with a fillet and topped with twin feathers. See Winlock, *Bas-reliefs from the temple of Rameses I at Abydos* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Papers*, vol. 1, pt. 1), p. 15-26

yellow; but the background, left unvarnished, still shows a clear white. The underside also of the case is decorated: an Osiris pillar, with arms and wearing the god's crown of horns, sun disk, and feathers, rests upon a gold-sign. From the horns project two pairs of uraei. At each side of the pillar is the symbol of the West, wherein Osiris reigned. The crowded effect so noticeable on the preceding coffin is here absent; both design and execution are pleasing.

The outer coffin of a series in the late period was often rectangular, with corner posts and high-arched lid. Within, however, the mumiform type continued. It is illustrated by 93.14, a wooden inner coffin not earlier than the XXVI. Dynasty (about 600 B.C.), still containing the wrapped mummy (93.15) of a woman named Wenuhotep. The face carved on the lid is colored rose and framed by a vulture hood such as goddesses might wear. At the top of the head appears Khepri over the horizon-sign and between the emblems of East and West. Below the broad collar on the breast sits Nut with outspread wings. The registers following represent:

1. The deceased before Osiris and Isis. Columns of writing which separate the Horus-sons at the ends read: *Utterance by Osiris the august house-mistress Wenuhotep, deceased, daughter of [the priest] . . . Thoth-hirthaw.*

2. The deceased on a lion bier (note the lion's head, tail, and legs). Above is the winged sun disk, emblem of Horus of Edfu, the hawk god who appears at each end of the band. Below are grouped the four canopic jars (cf. p. 19). The inscriptions which begin here are continued farther down, after skipping the next register. That at the mummy's left prays for *a royal offering of Osiris, presider over the West, the great god, lord of Abydos: may he give an offering.* As space gave out here, the text breaks off abruptly without the usual detailed list of wants. At the right Wenuhotep's mother is named: *Her mother, the house-mistress Bast[—], deceased, revered in the presence of the great god, the lord of the sky.*

3. The sun god in his barque, worshiped at either side by an ape. The designs over the lower limbs include the primitive fetish of Abydos and the sacred eyes. The beginning of the offering formula occurs again on the standard of the fetish. Isis with outspread wings covers the feet. On the foot end, under the winged sun, the Apis bull, with the mummy bound upon his back, runs toward (?) the tomb (at right).

The outside of the box as well as the lid is decorated; several seated deities may be seen along each edge. No varnish was used. Within, both parts of the coffin are whitened. As for the mummy, black discoloration caused by the bituminous preservative shows through breaks in the linen shroud. The face of the cartonnage mask is gilded; the head is to be thought of as wearing a wig, which in turn is protected by a wig cover of blue linen.¹ Other pieces of cartonnage are placed over the breast, legs, and feet. The figures on the breast piece are akin to those on the coffin lid; on the foot case, the sandal thongs and soles are indicated. These cartonnage shields take the place of a mummy case such as Pankhain possessed, for this later burial was much more crude and cheap. Among points of style which distinguish this seventh-century coffin from the eleventh-century one of Nesipahirhet (94.369) are: (1) its shallowness; (2) the hands are no longer carved upon the breast but are supposed (as already in the XXII. Dynasty, cf. 10.238) to be concealed by the wrappings; (3) some of the divinities carry bandlets of linen or wear upon their heads cones of ointment such as were worn at human banquets.

From a Ptolemaic burial comes a head (94.388) broken from the cover of a limestone sarcophagus. The inlaid eyes are missing, and the beardless face is pleasant but expressive. A groove around the edge of the cover matched another on the box.

A left eye (94.945) of glass originally inlaid in a mumiform coffin of perhaps the Graeco-Roman period suggests what is lacking above. It is of opaque white, with pupil and iris together inset in black. The shape is outlined by a thread of blue coiled around the edge.

SEPARATE MUMMY MASKS.—Nos. 10.220-22 are gilded mummy masks of cartonnage from late burials similar to, but more pretentious than, that of Wenuhotep. The deceased is in each case represented wearing a necklace from which in front depends a heart amulet, while below it is a broad collar fringed with drop pendants. On the head is worn a large wig, with heavy tresses brought forward from behind the ears to fall in front at each side as usual. A blue linen wig cover over the wig is probably intended as before; its ends in front are decorated with three bands of rosettes. Across the bottom of each mask is a row of divinities, with Osiris throned at the center. In 220 he is guarded on either hand

¹ Some actual wig covers are described and patterns for various styles are worked out by Winlock in the *Bulletin* of the Metropolitan Museum of Art for November, 1916.

by falcons (Isis and Nephthys) wearing sun disks and with the feather of truth on each outspread wing. Two similar pairs of goddesses at each end watch over small squatting deities who also wear the sun disk. In 221 Osiris is worshiped at both sides by the deceased; behind the latter stand the hawk-headed Horus and the ibis-headed Thoth respectively, each followed by the jackal-headed Anubis and two of the four



10.220

10.221

Horus-sons. In 222 Isis and Nephthys, with their names on their heads, kneel beside Osiris, while behind them stand Thoth and Anubis respectively, with the kneeling deceased followed by two Horus-sons. Beside the tresses on 221-22 are similar kneeling figures of Isis and Nephthys (positions reversed in the two instances). All three masks show a fillet about the head. On the forehead of 221-22 was a sacred eye (lost in 222); 220 has instead the sun disk and uraei, with the winged beetle of Khepri added on top of the head (beetle's body lost).

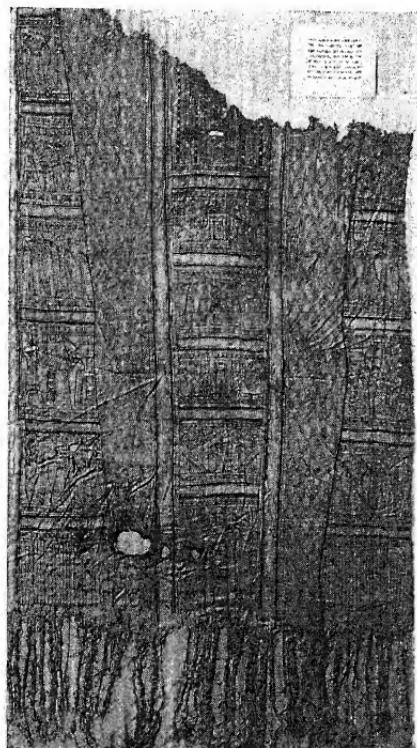
SHROUD.—Examples of the fine linens used for mummy wrappings are to be seen in the collection of the Antiquarian Society. Over the wrappings was often placed a shroud of somewhat coarser linen. A Ptolemaic shroud (x. 400), split down the back, has been framed to show its decoration. The scenes are not woven in, but are merely sketched upon the surface with black ink.

The central section contains six superimposed registers:

1. The pillar-symbol of Osiris (the *ded* pillar), wearing his crown.
2. Winged solar hawks sheltering a shrine.
3. A winged deity attended by the four Horus-sons.
4. Re (?) and Sekhmet (?) guarding another shrine. Or these may both be intended for the coffin of Osiris.
5. Winged Isis and Nephthys, each sheltering an altar, at opposite sides of a *ded* pillar down each side of which is written *Given life, duration, and satisfaction.*

6. An ornamental portal surmounted by two solar hawk heads facing outward, with a sun disk between them decked with two uraei, from each of which depends the symbol of life.

At each side of the center, the portion that covered the legs is marked off in a diamond pattern to represent a bead net (cf. p. 116). Two other sections, one down each side at the back, represent various gods. The four Horus-sons occupy the first, third, and fifth registers. In the second is seen the deceased lady to whom the shroud belonged, followed by Anubis. The fourth register has *Osiris, presider over the West, great god, lord of Mendes, lord of the sky* (at right) and *Osiris, the great god, lord of Mendes, lord of Abydos, 'the victorious one'* (at left), accompanied by *Horus, lord*



x.400

of '*the lily*', *son of Isis*, and by Khnum respectively.

The figures throughout (except those of Osiris, Horus, and Khnum) wear the sun disk on the head. Over each scene, including the bottom register of conventionalized portals, rests a starry sky. The bottom edge of the shroud is finished off with a long fringe.

CANOPIC JARS.¹—From the late Old Kingdom on, it became the custom to remove the viscera when mummifying and to preserve them separately in four jars. Not only was the preparation of the body thus rendered easier, but the deceased was physically prevented from feeling in the hereafter the pangs of hunger. The viscera were furthermore put under the magical protection of the four Horus-sons (Imset, Hapi,



92.36-39

Duamutef, and Kebehsenuf), one of whose particular functions it was to ward off from the dead hunger and thirst. Besides being mentioned in inscriptions, the guardianship was usually symbolized from the XIX. Dynasty on by jar covers representing the heads commonly associated with these deities: man, ape, jackal, and hawk respectively.² Materials used were wood, aragonite (oriental alabaster), limestone, and pottery. The canopic jars were placed together in a special box which had its own place in the funeral procession.³

¹ Mace and Winlock, *Tomb of Senebtisi*, p. 107-9, discuss the early history and significance of canopic jars. Forms and inscriptions characteristic of various periods are listed by Reisner in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. 37 (1899), p. 61-74.

² The oldest Egyptian references to these genii are given in Breasted, *Development of religion and thought in ancient Egypt*, p. 156-57. They are finely pictured on the mummy case. ^{236.}

³ Such a box represented the coffin of the viscera. As to its genesis, see Mace and Winlock, *op. cit.*, p. 52. Budge, *Papyrus of Ani*, pl. 5, shows an Empire funeral procession, with the canopic box being drawn behind the hearse. An actual XXVI.-XXX. Dynasty box is illustrated in Petrie, *Abydos*, pt. I, pl. LXXIV.

The earliest set of canopic jars exhibited (92.36-39) belonged to an XVIII. Dynasty official, a *builder of Amon* named *Amenhotep*. All four covers in this instance still represent human heads, intended as portraits of the deceased. The inscriptions painted in black in four columns on the front of each jar read: *Utterance by Serket (Neit, Isis, Nephthys* respectively, addressed to the jar): *O thou who foldest thy arms about him who is in thee, extend thy protection over Imset (Hapi, Duamutef, Kebehsenuf* respectively) *who is in thee, (even) the chief builder of Amon, Amenhotep, revered in the presence of Imset (Hapi, Duamutef, Kebehsenuf* respectively). To this same Amenhotep belonged the wooden ushebtu 92.234. To show which jars and covers belonged together, the maker has scrawled just inside each cover the name of the goddess who appears in the formula on the corresponding jar.

This set is of pottery, both jars and covers made on the wheel. The faces, all beardless have then been modeled by hand, so that through the general similarity of the conventional type individual differences in size and shape appear. The skin is painted yellow, the hair black. Face, neck, and ears are outlined in red. The eyes are white, with pupil and iris and eyebrows black. The jars are now empty; but scraps of linen wrappings still cling to the inner surface of 92.36.

A single jar from an XVIII. Dynasty set of calcareous stone (94.540) has a retrograde inscription reading: *Utterance by Isis* (identified with the jar): *I fold my arms about Imset who is in me, (even) the steward Obauf, the revered in the presence of Imset, deceased.*

The first conception of the canopic jar heads as portraits of the dead gave way, as has been noted, to the idea that they should symbolize the four guardian spirits, the Horus-sons. A transitional phase, beginning as early as the XII. Dynasty, employed four human heads, but made three of them bearded and one beardless, the latter representing Imset. To this phase belong 94.360-61, two jars, probably mates, of aragonite. One is made with, the other without, a beard. The style of these two jars indicates a XIX. Dynasty date. Both are uninscribed and now empty, but scraps of their contents remain. Incised lines separate the strands of the wig on one lid; its fellow omits these details. The other two jars of the set are missing.

Animal heads begin to appear in the XIX. Dynasty. The hawk-headed Kebehsenuf is represented by 94.658, part of a canopic jar lid in the blue glazed ware often called fayence. All four varieties of heads

occur in the later white limestone set, 93.100-103, which is of the XXI. Dynasty ff. (around 1000 B.C.). Chisel marks are prominent inside and on the bottoms. A few crude traces of black paint help to bring out the features on the lids. The jars are uninscribed and empty, unstained by traces of contents, for at this particular period the viscera were usually replaced in the body cavity after treatment. Here as elsewhere it is evident that old customs live on unreasoningly after their practical usefulness has ceased. For not only jars like these, which never had any contents, but even jars and lids made together in one solid piece, are found.

II

RELIEF SCULPTURE

Relief sculpture was regularly used to adorn both temples and tombs. The latter have provided all the scenes in the Art Institute.

OLD KINGDOM AND HERACLEOPOLITAN PERIOD.—The tombs of the prehistoric Egyptians had been mere pits scooped in the sands of the western desert; for the dead, like the evening sun, was thought to depart westward. The mounds of sand with which they were early heaped, perhaps for protection from animals, perhaps for identification, must be surrounded by a pale of stones lest the sand heap be carried away by the wind. As time passed, the tomb became more elaborate. The pit became an underground chamber of sun-dried brick or of stone, reached by a stairway, a sloping passageway, or a vertical shaft. The pale of stones above grew into a sloping rectangular wall of masonry, still encompassing the prehistoric sand heap. Such a tomb, modernly called from the shape of its superstructure a “*mastaba*” (the Arabic word for “*bench*”), was in use by the nobles of the Old Kingdom.

Equipment of food, toilet articles, etc., was laid with the body. But additional gifts, especially of food, would be left from time to time by pious relatives before the so-called “*false door*.” Through this imitation door, built into the east wall of the tomb’s superstructure, the spirit of the dead was supposed to return from the West for his supplies. The niche made for it soon expanded into a chamber, or even a series of chambers, built within the otherwise solid filling of the *mastaba*. The walls of the chapel rooms thus formed were made attractive and perhaps magically useful for the dead whose outlook they constituted by representations of the furnishing of his tomb as well as of those activities which he had enjoyed on earth. On these walls the dead noble might behold some of his servants plowing, sowing, harvesting, and threshing his grain, while others herded his cattle and tended his domestic fowls, or his huntsmen pursued the wild game of the highland. Great picture books of ancient life were thus created. From such Old Kingdom *mastabas*, the finest of which are found at Gizeh and Sakkara,

and from those of the Heracleopolitan period that followed, come the limestone wall-reliefs described below. One group (10.223-33), purchased in Cairo in 1910, was presented to the Art Institute by Mr. Martin A. Ryerson. Another (20.263 and 265-66) was acquired through Professor Breasted.

The earliest pieces exhibited date probably from the V. Dynasty. Of these, 10.226 contains portions of two registers: offering-bearers

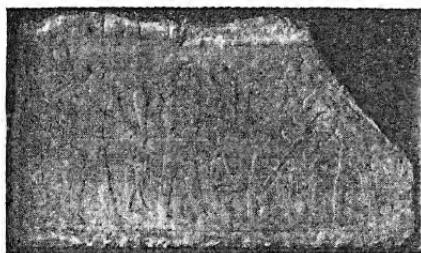


10.226

above, oxen being butchered for sacrifice below. The eight men above (heads all lost) are bringing to the tomb trays of provisions, braces of live birds, ribs of beef, etc. Below, three slain oxen appear. A butcher at the extreme right, aided by an assistant, is just hacking off with his knife a hind leg of the foremost ox. The rope by which the animal was thrown hangs slack from the same leg down along its body. In the middle another butcher, similarly equipped and aided, is cutting off a leg of the next ox, while a second helper carries away the heart and a great spouted jar full of blood. The whetstones which both butchers wear (attached to an end of their kilts) have jerked up behind them at their vigorous motions. In the third episode, at the left, the heart is being handed to a servant who has already loaded a severed leg on his shoulder. He has pulled up his kilt and tucked it all into the side of his girdle, where it hangs over behind. This relief is a fine piece of work, comparing favorably with the best Old Kingdom sculpture. It probably formed part of the south wall of a mastaba chapel, with its

figures facing toward the false door in the west end, and thus toward the presence of the deceased. A strikingly similar relief in the V. Dynasty chapel of Akhethotep at Sakkara¹ is in six registers: at the top, hauling of some heavy tomb equipment; next, the lassoing and binding of oxen; the middle two registers, offering-bearers; and the bottom two, dismembering of oxen.

Another group of offering-bearers is seen in 10.227. The foremost holds a plucked goose. His mates bring buds and blossoms (all lotus



10.227

except for one bell-shaped papyrus blossom with stiff stem), trays of food, a live goose, and a jar of water (?). Inscriptions accompany the last two: *bringing along a ro-goose* and *bringing along (water?)* respectively. The register below, of which only the upper edge remains, was evidently similar. That above pictured an

assortment of offerings. This same arrangement of registers appears again on the south wall of Akhethotep's chapel.² While the leg muscles are more generally indicated in 10.227, this and the preceding piece are so similar in style and scale that one tomb may well have furnished both.

Offering-bearers appear once more in 10.263. The first of the three men carries a calf. The next, named *Sabi*, has a bundle of blossoming lotus and papyrus stalks. The third, *Shepses*, brings birds and a gazelle.

Though a mere scrap out of a threshing scene, 10.234 is the most attractive of all these early reliefs.³ As a group of donkeys busily treads out the grain, one of them bends down to sample the product of his labor, while some overseer shouts: *Back w[ith them]!* The rhythm of line, the skilful modeling, the natural attitudes, and the ludicrously pathetic expressions on the faces of the donkeys unite to emphasize this piece.

In 10.231 (p. 26) comes a bit of a harvest scene. An overseer (at the left), his arms behind him, watches while a peasant swings his

¹ Davies, *Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhethotep*, pt. 2, pl. xxii-xxiii.

² *Ibid.*, pl. xxxiv.

³ See Steindorff, *Grab des Ti*, pl. 122 and 125, for a complete composition, with donkeys on one floor balanced by oxen on another.



10.234

sickle. Today, 4,500 years later, the Egyptian still cuts his grain with long stubble and short straw.

The center of importance in a mastaba chapel was the false door. On the offering table at its foot were laid the food, etc., provided from



20.231



20.265

time to time for the deceased, whose spirit was supposed to return thither to fetch them. The "window" panel above the drum of the doorway regularly shows the owner of the tomb at table. In the example 20.265 the judge and scribe *Thenti* appears sitting opposite his wife.

Beside the latter stands their son, also named *Thenti*, while the elder *Thenti's granddaughter, his beloved, Neferhathor*, is seen in the background at the left. Over the table are listed such desiderata as *incense, green and black cosmetics, anointing oil*, and *natron*, while below are expressed the hopes for *a thousand of bread, a thousand of beer, a thousand of clothing, and a thousand of linen*.

An incomplete panel (20.266) from a chapel wall presents the [king's] *confidant, the steward of the great house, Ibdu, revered in the presence of the god*, and his wife (name lacking). The register beneath shows three offering-bearers, the last carrying two long rolls of cloth.

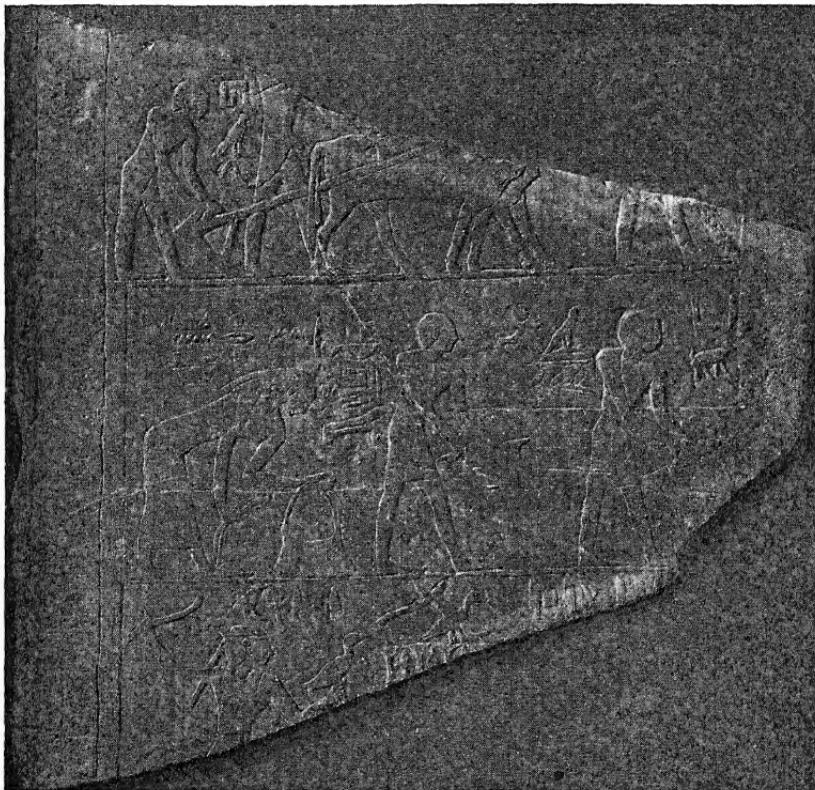
In the year 1905 Mr. J. E. Quibell, acting for the Egyptian government, began a new series of excavations at Sakkara. His first work was done eastward from the pyramid of King Teti (VI. Dynasty). There, at a distance of some 165 meters, he found a large Old Kingdom mastaba along whose western face clustered many far humbler tombs of the succeeding Heracleopolitan period. To one of these small X. Dynasty tombs belonged the panel 10.232 (p. 28), which once stood beside a false door in the west wall of a chapel.¹ Above are the remains of a plowing scene. Two men are needed, one to drive the oxen, the other to guide the plow. The exclamation *Ha* written between them seems



20.266

¹ Published in Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1905-1906)*, pl. xx 2.

identical with that still in use to urge on the oxen of modern Egypt. The action of the man in front is obscure. At our right in the middle register two reapers are busy; behind them, a woman gleans. She is just plucking two short stalks which remained untouched by the sickle. The levels of the standing grain and of the stubble left behind are very summarily indicated by lines of demarcation at the



10.232

heights of waist (before the men) and knee (behind them) respectively, in marked contrast with the detail of 10.231. On the other hand, this scene is enlivened with remarks, beginning at the right: *I'm thirsty, (says) the reaper. I'm sleepy, says the leader of every day.*

Below these agricultural scenes comes the hunting of wild fowl in the marshes by the noble himself, whose name, *Ipiankhu*, stands just over

his head. He wears a fillet, one end of which hangs down his back. Around his neck is a broad collar. His right arm is drawn back, ready to hurl his throw stick; in his left hand he holds a bird already brought down. Over the papyrus buds and blossoms before him flutters a bird just hit by another throw stick, which is seen cutting across its wing. This type of hunting so appealed to the Egyptians that in a Middle Kingdom Coffin Text it is said of the blessed dead: *The bird-pools come to thee by thousands, lying in thy path; when thou hast hurled thy boomerang against them, it is a thousand that fall at the sound of the wind thereof.*¹ A broken inscription at the right belongs with the lost portion of the scene. The border at left is edged by single incised lines, with short double incised lines between the rectangles.

Another relief (10.228) probably from the same period and locality as the preceding preserves parts of three rows of offering-bearers with joints of meat, birds, jars, flowers, and other provisions. These numerous long lines of incoming supplies are found decorating either the corridor leading to the chapel or the north and south walls of the chapel itself, leading to the false door.² Our fragment seems to have belonged either at the interior end of such a corridor or on the north wall of the chapel, for part of the margin is preserved at left. In the upper left corner are incised the title and name of the official who heads the party: *the subcustodian of the temple of Teti, Niyertionekh.* His title shows that he was a priest in the royal mortuary temple which adjoined King Teti's pyramid close by. His relative importance is indicated, too, by his stiffly projecting kilt, while his companions wear the close-fitting kilt usual with servants.

Another member of a priestly family connected with the Teti temple appears in the reliefs 10.223-24 (p. 30), for these belonged to a



10.228

¹ Breasted, *Development of religion and thought in ancient Egypt*, p. 279.

² Cf. Steindorff, *op. cit.*, pl. 40-44 and 126-27 respectively.

X. Dynasty lady named *Merettetiyiyet*, "The Beloved of (King) Teti Comes."¹ Each of these two panels shows us the deceased lady in the lowest register, seated before a table of food offerings. She is represented as having just issued from a false door which stood immediately behind her, forming a central member, while our two panels faced each other from each end. The niche thus formed was set into the east face of her humble mastaba. The broad line of inscription across each panel puts their owner under the protection of a god of the dead, calling her *the*



10.223



10.224

revered in the presence of Anubis, him who is upon his mountain, the 'em-balmer'¹ (this title of Anubis is omitted in 224), *Merettetiyiyet*. As she sits at her mortuary dining-table she wears a long, close-fitting linen garment suspended by straps over the shoulders and reaching almost to the ankles—the usual dress of the Old Kingdom. A long wig, fitting snugly around the ears and seemingly protected by a wig cover, divides over her shoulders. Only one of the two tresses that fall in front is shown, overlying her broad bead collar. The latter, summarily treated in 224, is shown in detail in 223. Her bracelets and anklets, so carefully rendered in 223, are lacking in 224 except perhaps for a bracelet on the right arm. In 223 she carries in her left hand a lotus bud; in 224 she holds the full-blown flower to her nose. The legs and feet of her low-backed chair represent

¹ Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1906-1907)*, pl. x 2-3 and p. 73.

those of a lion; in 224 the seat is finished off behind with a knob in the form of a papyrus blossom. The pedestal table before her is covered with what the artist understood to be a palm-leaf tablecloth viewed from above.¹ The original motive, however, thus early conventionalized and misinterpreted by the Egyptians themselves, was a table loaded with tall loaves of bread split into vertical halves.² To be thought of as lying on the covered surface are the various viands above: in 223 a leg, a heart, and another cut of meat, together with some loaves and vegetables; in 224 a leg of beef, some vegetables, and a plucked goose. Under the table stand on one side a copper washbasin and pitcher, the latter (a spouted jug) inside the former.³ On the other side, nearer the lady, 223 has a vase of water, 224 a label: *Table of offerings*. On a wooden stand at the left in 223 are two tall loaves and a basket of fruit, vegetables, and lotus flowers. Their place in 224 is taken by a manservant apparently striking off with a knife the head of a goose which he holds by the wings in his left hand. The inscription over the lady's arm in 223 is a prayer for additional offerings to supplement the actual objects left at the tomb and those pictured on its walls. It reads: *1000 loaves of bread, 1000 jars of beer, 1000 oxen, 1000 geese, for the revered one, Merettetiyiyet*. The other panel fails to name the beneficiary, but adds to the list *1000 (pieces of) linen, 1000 (changes of) raiment*.

Registers above illustrate the provisioning of the tomb. In 10.223 two servants are stated to be *lassoing an ox*. One of them seizes a horn while the other pulls taut the rope, which has been cast over the horns and then twisted around a hind leg. Before the group a woman stands facing the missing false door and presumably presenting some offering; her name, *Khernaskau*, is written behind her. The corresponding scene in

¹ Egyptian principles of art demanded that the actual forms of objects be shown, even if different points of view must be combined.

² References for this development are summarized in Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhet*, p. 35, n. 4.

³ An *actual* copper washbasin and pitcher are illustrated in Quibell, *El Kab*, pl. III and p. 4. In Naville, *Cemeteries of Abydos*, pt. I, pl. II 5 and 8, are shown a *model* basin and pitcher, said on p. 21 to be "of patchy dark brown pottery" and "clearly imitations of metal forms, the rivets by which the spout was fastened on to the vase being represented in the copy." Dr. Williams informs the author that two large red pottery jars of this short-spouted type, found in the Old Kingdom cemetery at Gizeh, are in the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston; while an alabaster jar of the same shape and size, obtained by Dr. Henry Abbott from Gizeh or Sakkara, is in the New York Historical Society's collection.

10.224 shows a woman servant followed by a man. The woman carries on her head a basket and leads a gazelle. The man has a basket of fruit



10.225

and vegetables and a bunch of lotus flowers. Behind them is a display of other furnishings: a broad collar such as Meretetiyiyet is wearing as she sits at table, a bowl with sacks of cosmetic, and a wooden stand holding three tall jars of diverse shapes. Bits of at least two more registers survive at the top; in both of them rows of servants are shown bringing offerings. Traces of yellow color on 223 remind us that Egyptian sculpture was regularly painted also. The details of 223 are more carefully worked out than are those of 224, though both are fairly well done.

The tall, narrow panel 10.225 stood, like 10.224, at the right of a false door; but its mate from the left is missing. The Sakkara tomb to which it belonged was evidently small and cheap, for not only is the sculpture crude, mechanical, and lacking in detail, but this one panel¹ summarizes the essential elements of a complete scheme of tomb decoration: jars of supplies above, slaying of the sacrificial ox, servants bearing offerings, and at bottom the deceased lady at table. The line of hieroglyphs overhead

names her: *the revered in the presence of Anubis , Merethotep.* This time the supposed tablecloth is summarily indicated by a mere

¹ Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1905-1906)*, pl. xix 2.

rectangle. The offerings—a leg of beef, a joint of meat, a plucked goose, a lotus blossom, and two onions—and the basin and pitcher are placed as before. In the next register above, female servants dressed like their mistress bring live birds in their hands and baskets of other viands on their heads. The slain ox in the third register lies prostrate with three feet roped together. While one servant keeps the rope taut,



10.229

the butcher hacks away with his knife at the free foreleg, which he admonishes a second helper to *lay hold of*. The latter obediently grasps the leg with his right hand; in his left he was already carrying a filled bowl. These three serfs of the estate are almost nude; only the middle one, behind the ox, clearly wears a kilt about his loins. The fourth or top register is occupied by four sealed jars in a wooden rack. The panel as a whole is bordered along the top and right edge by painted rectangles

framed in double incised lines. Remains of color are most prominent on the table and offerings.

The lower end of another long, narrow panel from the same X. Dynasty tomb group at Sakkara¹ is preserved in 10.229. In the bottom register are four servants, men and women alternating. The first man carries a leg of beef. The other man is more heavily burdened: he holds a calf



10.230

precariously on his shoulder by grasping three of its legs with his right hand, while lotus blossoms are thrown over his right arm; his left fist grasps by the wings a wonderfully misshapen bird, and a bundle of reeds (such as is shown in more detail at the left end of 10.226) dangles from the same hand. Both women are laden with flowers and baskets of produce. The scene above seems to have pictured a man (at right) standing before the master of the tomb and his wife (at left). The last two both wear anklets, and the master leans upon his staff (only the bottom end shows). The action as a whole is described by the line of hieroglyphs between the registers: *Bringing the divine offering as a daily supply for the revered one, Tetimsaf.* The modeling of this relief is poor; and the expressions, where preserved, tend toward the grotesque. Many traces of color—red, yellow, black, and green—survive on the figures and inscrip-

¹ *Ibid.*, pl. xx 3.

tion. On the right-hand margin was a border of rectangles, not incised but merely outlined in bands of red; at the bottom are narrow stripes of black, red, black, and yellow, with a band of black below them extending to the edge.

The small fragment 10.230, likewise from Sakkara,¹ once formed part of the north wall of a X. Dynasty noble's tomb chapel. The great man was shown here in the lower register, just as he had supposedly issued from the false door behind him and seated himself before a table of food offerings (as in 10.223-25). Only his head is preserved, but above in a horizontal line of hieroglyphs we read his sounding titles and his name: *The seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, the sole companion, the general, the revered one, Ipi.* Above him is a scene of the snaring of birds. The rectangle at left, as shown by the floating lotus pad and blossoms, represents the small artificial lake in our nobleman's grounds. In this is spread the net (looked at from above, in contrast with the rest of the scene), attached at the left end to a peg near shore. As usual in such scenes, the net has already been closed by the men at the right, who pull from behind a screen of rushes. Some birds that have escaped flutter excitedly above. The net was probably staked out as a square, supported at its corners by the four props which are seen collapsed within. The meshes of the net, as well as the ropes binding the upper edges, which in closing were drawn taut along the line of tension, are here left unindicated.² In the scene above stood an ox, perhaps being roped for slaughter. This piece is in comparatively high relief, and much of its original red coloring survives.

A delightfully natural picture of an aged *herdsman* (so reads the label above him) feeding an ox from a trough³ is to be seen in 10.233. The vigorous animal, tied by a rope around its lower jaw, kneels to reach the food extended by the graybeard.

¹ *Ibid.*, pl. xx 5.

² The latest discussion of this type of net is by Montet in the *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*, vol. 11 (1914), p. 145-53.

³ Cf. Steindorff, *op. cit.*, pl. 115.



10.233

Plaster casts (88.34-42) of nine Old Kingdom mastaba details, the originals of which are still in place at Sakkara, are also shown. Of the three tombs concerned,¹ that of Ti, with its extremely low and delicate relief, was decorated in the first half of the V. Dynasty, before 2700 B.C. In Ptahhotep's tomb, made fifty or sixty years later, the relief is slightly more pronounced. The sculptor who wrought for Sabu perhaps a hundred years later still, in the VI. Dynasty, has carried the same tendency farther. The subjects include:

A boy with two hounds; above (i.e., beside him in the background), a dwarf leading an ape. Tomb of Ti.²

Threshing with oxen. Tomb of Ti.³

Inspection of poultry: cranes, three kinds of geese, swans, pintailed ducks, etc. Tomb of Ptahhotep.⁴

Youths playing games, apparently at a vintage festival. Tomb of Ptahhotep.⁵

An ape and three hounds held in leash by a servant beside their master's chair. Tomb of Ptahhotep.⁶

Slaughtering of oxen. Tomb of Ptahhotep.⁷

Five men carrying offerings. The last four also lead young animals. Tomb of Ptahhotep.⁸

Bringing in animals for inspection. The samples illustrated are an ox, two oryxes, and a gazelle. Tomb of Sabu.

Two offering-bearers: a woman with a basket of vegetables on her head, followed by a man similarly carrying a cage of birds. Tomb of Sabu.

¹ Numerous casts from these tombs are described briefly in the Berlin Museum's *Ausführliches verzeichniss der äg. altertumer* (1899), p. 455-60.

² In Steindorff, *op. cit.*, pl. 115, at left.

³ Detail from *ibid.*, pl. 125; cf. our 10.234.

⁴ In Quibell, *Ramesseum* (of which Paget and Pirie, *Tomb of Ptah-hetep*, forms an appendix), pl. xxxi, and Davies, *Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhetetep*, pt. 1, pl. xxi and xxvii-xxviii and p. 11. The descriptive text in both publications is by Griffith.

⁵ In Quibell, *Ramesseum*, pl. xxxiii and p. 27. Its setting and a later interpretation are given in Davies, *op. cit.*, pl. xxi and xxiii and p. 9-10.

⁶ In Quibell, *Ramesseum*, pl. xxxv and p. 27; photograph of setting in Davies, *op. cit.*, pl. xxx.

⁷ Bottom register in Quibell, *Ramesseum*, pl. xxxvi (see p. 31); photograph of setting in Davies, *op. cit.*, pl. xxx; cf. our 10.225-26.

⁸ In Quibell, *Ramesseum*, pl. xxxviii

In the III. Dynasty tomb of Hesire at Sakkara¹ is a long corridor with painted scenes on one side and a series of eleven niches on the other. At the back of each niche was fixed a magnificently carved wooden panel. Casts of the three best preserved show Hesire in two instances, wearing a short wig, seated or erect respectively before a stand over which offerings are listed in writing instead of being pictured on the table as usual. In the third he is standing, a masterly illustration of the conventional posture: eye and shoulders in front view, the rest of the body in profile, that its actual structure might be revealed. He wears a long, ceremonial wig; in his right hand he holds a baton, in his left his staff and writing outfit. The same pen case, waterpot, and palette with its two cups (for black and for red ink) are seen hanging over his shoulder in the other panels. The upper portion of each panel is occupied by Hesire's titles.

MIDDLE KINGDOM.—The mastabas of the Old Kingdom were largely succeeded in the Middle Kingdom by tombs hewn in the native rock of the cliffs at the desert's edge. Scenes of daily life continued to be represented in these cliff tombs; but instead of the false door, tombstones of two main types were used.² One of these, rectangular, and retaining cavetto cornice and astragal, was a direct descendant of the false door. The other, with rounded top, suggests rather the tomb-markers erected for both kings and their retainers during the I. Dynasty.³ Of this latter type is 92.35 (p. 38), a stela noteworthy for the preservation of its coloring. The sculpture, however, consists of incised outlines with very little modeling. At the top are two sacred eyes. Then comes a prayer, in four horizontal lines, for a *royal offering of Osiris, lord of "Life of the Two Lands"* (a quarter in Memphis).⁴ *May he give a mortuary offering of bread and beer, oxen and geese, linen, clothing, every good and pure thing whereon <the god> lives, for the ka of the guardsman⁵ Amenemhet, deceased, born of Yatu,*

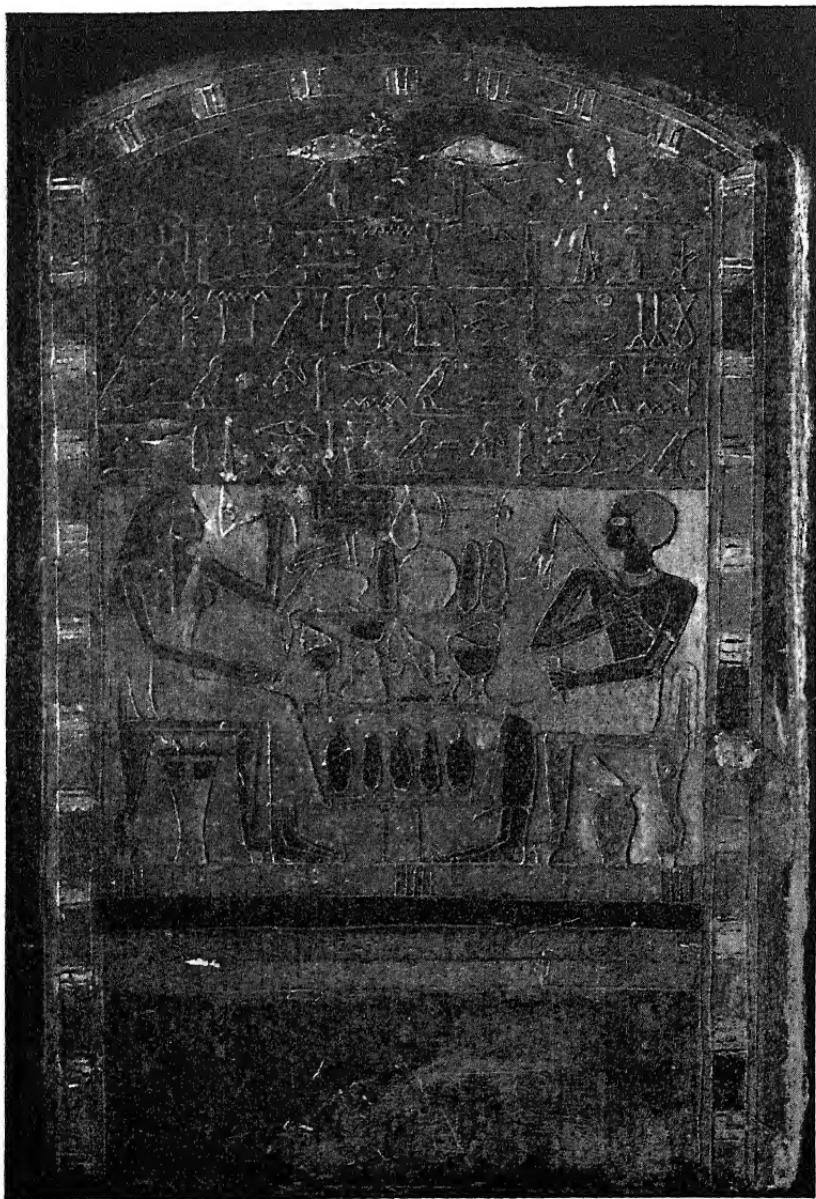
¹ See Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1911-1912): The tomb of Hesy.*

² See Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und denksteine des mittleren reichs* (in the Cairo Catalogue), for a large and representative collection of Middle Kingdom tombstones.

³ The excavations of both Amélineau and Petrie at Abydos yielded such stelae in large numbers. See, e.g., the stela of King Merneit in Petrie, *Royal tombs*, pt. 1, front., and that of King Qa in Bissing-Brückmann, *Denkmäler ag. sculptur*, pl. 1. The markers of the courtiers, who surrounded their lord in death as in life, are shown abundantly in Petrie, *op. cit.*, pt. 1, pl. xxxi-xxxvi, and pt. 2, pl. xxvi-xxx; also in his *Abydos*, pt. 1, pl. xiii.

⁴ This title belongs ordinarily to Ptah.

⁵ Meaning a professional soldier, an occupation unknown in Egypt before the Middle Kingdom.



92-35

·deceased, (and for the *ka* of) his mother, his beloved, *Yatu*, deceased, born of *Tita*, deceased. The next register shows Amenemhet and his mother seated, with three tables full of offerings between them. The son's figure is painted red, the conventional color for men, presumably because their skins are darkened by much exposure to the brilliant sun; the mother's is yellow, as usual for women,¹ whose indoor life is thus emphasized. The costumes are similar to those of the Old Kingdom. *Yatu* is adorned, like Meretetiyiyet,² with armlets and anklets, and sniffs a lotus flower held in her left hand. Amenemhet is beardless; he wears bracelets and a rather narrow blue collar. In his right hand is a ceremonial whip³ and in his left a handkerchief (?) in the form of a folded roll of cloth (?).⁴ Over the low back of each lion-legged chair a cushion has been thrown. Under each chair stands a jar, large out of all proportion, since that at the left was for ointment and that at the right for cosmetic. The foremost (lowest) of the three tables of offerings rests on a squat cylindrical standard. On this table are set red pottery jars of drink. No bases are shown for the other two tables. The middle one of these is occupied by a calf's head, a leg of beef, other cuts of meat, and, at each end, a stand holding a red pottery bowl with a lotus flower and a bunch of grapes (?)⁵ respectively. On the rearmost table (at the top) are a plucked goose, three loaves of bread, a cake, leeks, another bunch of grapes (?), and two quite uncertain objects.⁶ The whole scene rests on a reed mat. Under that come bands of red, yellow, and blue, separated by incised lines; the space below to the bottom was painted black. The

¹ Cf. 10.223.

² In 10.223-24.

³ On the meaning and history of the whip see Mace and Winlock, *Tomb of Senebisi*, p. 94-102.

⁴ This object, or a longer one very like it, is a frequent detail in both statuary and relief. For Cairo Museum examples, see Borchardt, *Statuen und statuetten*, nos. 63, 67, 69, 84, etc. (Old and Middle Kingdom), and Lacau, *Stèles du nouvel empire*, nos. 34047, 34049, 34054, etc. (Empire). The Metropolitan Museum stela of Menthu-weser, published by Dr. Williams, represents our type with especial clearness.

⁵ This last object was colored blue; but whether it originally showed black dots also like the painted grapes in Steindorff, *Grabfunde des mittleren reichs*, pt. 1, pl. xi 5, is uncertain.

⁶ That at the top left is probably the same as shown (unidentified) in Steindorff, *ibid.*, pt. 2, pl. 11, resting on the left end of the table in the foreground. The other may perhaps be a tibia as a meat offering; cf. Lorier's preface to Lortet and Gaillard, *La faune momifiée de l'ancienne Egypte*, p. ix.

sides and top are bordered with painted rectangles. At the left, near the top, a later hand has added a tiny painted (not incised) caricature of a lady seated on the ground.

More gayly colored than the foregoing is 20.262, a rectangular stela without cornice. The signs in the offering prayer along its upper and down its right edge are incised and filled with blue. The space thus



20.262

bordered is depressed. It bears in relief the figures of *the priest Amenemhet, deceased, born of Yap, and his wife, his beloved, Himet, born of Yata*, standing before a *table of offerings* while their son *Amenemhet* presents a leg of beef. Other gifts of food, drink, and flowers are on and beside the table.

EMPIRE.—The royal pyramids of the Old Kingdom had been developed from the mastabas of the nobles by superimposing a series of mastabas gradually diminishing in size, and then filling out the resulting terraces to form a unified slope. The mastaba chapel likewise became for the kings a mortuary temple adjoining the pyramid on the east. This type of royal burial continued through the Middle Kingdom. But in the

Empire mass and size were displaced by strategy. It was realized that the very prominence of the pyramids, no matter how cleverly the bodies were secreted, had led inevitably to their plundering and desecration. So the bodies of the Egyptian emperors were hidden away in cliff tombs in a wild valley behind the western cliffs of Thebes. The mortuary temples which had adjoined the pyramids now became detached and independent structures, built out in the Theban plain or at the base of the western cliffs. The finest of such temples was erected about 1500 B.C. by Queen Hatshepsut. Its elegant, low-relief sculptures are illustrated in the swinging wall-frames. Two important series among these reliefs depict the miraculous birth of the queen as a daughter of the sun god and a remarkable trading expedition sent by her via the Red Sea to the land of Punt (probably modern Somaliland). The head of Hatshepsut's mother, Queen Ahmose, perhaps the most charming bit that has survived in the whole temple, is reproduced most vividly in a finely tinted cast.¹

Stelae were erected, not only to commemorate the dead, but to secure favors for either the dead or the living. Of the latter sort is 93.75, an incised limestone stela of the false-door type, small and very crude. On the lintel under the cornice and molding, stand the cartouches of Thutmose IV. He is named more at length on the doorposts: *The good god, lord of the Two Lands, Menkheprure; son of Re, lord of diadems, Thutmose, beloved of Amon-Re* (Ptah respectively). Deeply depressed inside the frame are two registers. Above, the king, *the lord of the Two Lands*, smites with his sword an enemy who kneels in supplication. The act is performed in presence of Ptah, who stands in conventional form² in his chapel. Below kneels *the priest of Ptah, Ist'ul*, who made the stela, with his wife, *the house-mistress, Yu*. Their hands are raised in prayer for the favor of the deified king. The stela was received through M. Emile Brugsch, of the Cairo Museum. It came most probably from Thebes, where it may have stood near the mortuary temple of Thutmose IV.

The fragment 94.246 (p. 42) belongs to the upper register of a large incised tombstone, likewise of the false-door type. Part of the cornice

¹ Presented by Mrs. Sarah E. Raymond Fitzwilliams in 1917. This head is taken from a scene showing the royal mother led to her accouchement by the deities Khnum and Heket, published in Naville, *Temple of Deir el Bahari*, pt. 2, pl. XLIX. The queen's head alone is given, *ibid.*, introductory memoir, pl. xi, and again in pt. 3, pl. LXXVII (colored).

² Cf. the bronzes, especially 10.240.

above and all the lower portion are missing. The section preserved involves two scenes. At our left the deceased Inyuya and his wife Yui kneel in the presence of *Osiris, presider over the West, and Isis*. The god carries his scepter and whip¹ as usual, while his consort bears the *life-symbol* on her knee. Before the suppliants is recorded their prayer: *Giving praise*



94.246

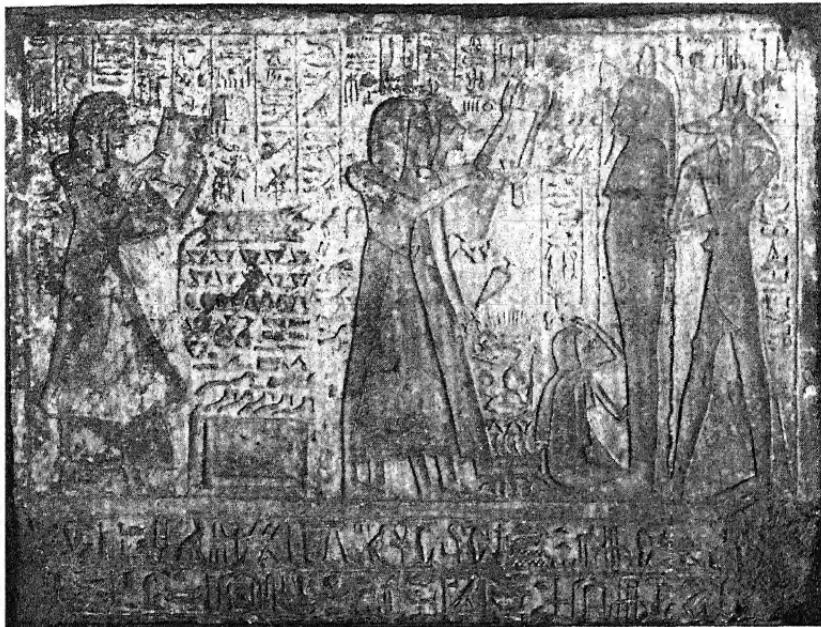
to Osiris, kissing the earth to Wennefer (an epithet of Osiris). *May he give sweet breath to the scribe of the silver- and gold-treasury of the lord of the Two Lands, Inyuya, deceased, (and) his sister (and wife), the house-mistress Yui, favored of Hathor the mistress of the sycamore.* There will have been an analogous scene at the right; but there only the deities are left: *Osiris, lord of Rosethau (Gizeh)* this time, and his other sister *Nephthys*, with their backs toward the other group. Inyuya and Yui both wear the elaborately pleated costumes of the Empire. The face of the stone has been but roughly dressed. Traces of red, blue, and black color are still visible.²

An Egyptian funeral is illustrated on the large rectangular sand-stone stela 20.264. A priest at the right, garbed as Anubis with jackal head, holds upright the mummy of the deceased *high priest of Montu, Ramose*. At the latter's feet kneels in mourning *his wife, the house-*

¹ Cf. p. 39, n. 3.

² The name *Inyuya* occurs on three relief fragments, probably all from Sakkara, now in the Cairo Museum (Haskell Oriental Museum photos 1832-33 and 1837). On the last of these an *Inyuya* and a *Yui* both appear, the former with the title *chief priest of the temple of Zeserkheprure-Setepnere* (King Harmhab), as *son's son* and *son's daughter* respectively of the owner (name lost). The other two seem to be parts of one object, which in the roughness of its surfacing, the prevalent direction and style of its hieroglyphs, and the details of *Inyuya's* wig, resembles our own piece. Whether ours belonged to the same object is questionable, however, for *Inyuya's* title (none found on photo 1832) appears in photo 1833 as *overseer of the oxen of Amon*. In any case, our fragment, like the others, dates from the early XIX. Dynasty.

mistress Henutmehit. Behind her appear piles of offerings. Of the two priests in the center, one offers incense and libation, while the other, the *lector priest*, intones *four times* a purification formula: *Thou art pure as Horus is pure, Horus is pure as thou art pure; thou art pure as Suti (Set) is pure, Suti is pure as thou art pure;* continuing with the same phrases in the names of Thoth and even of a fourth deity. At left, bringing up the



20.264

rear, comes another priest who reads from his papyrus roll the liturgy of *opening the mouth*, whereby the deceased was enabled to eat as well as to recite the necessary charms in the hereafter. The two lines of inscription below contain a prayer for offerings addressed to Osiris, Isis, Anubis, Hathor, and other deities.

The walls of Egyptian tomb chapels during the Empire were still often decorated in relief. But where the stone in which a tomb was excavated was of poor quality, the surface might be plastered with mud, then coated with stucco on which the scenes would be painted. In either case, the work was not always carried to its final stage. Thus in Room VI of the tomb of King Seti I at Thebes, the scenes have been

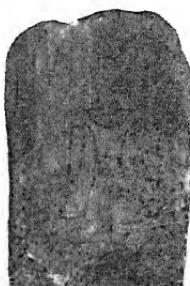
sketched out only. Artists' studies were sometimes made in the same fashion. So on the limestone flake 20.255 is drawn in red and black



20.259



20.253



20.255



20.256



20.251



20.260



20.258



20.257

the erect figure of some XIX. (?) Dynasty king holding the standard of his god Amon.

LATER PERIODS.—Relief sculpture of the Ethiopian period is represented in a cast of the head of King Shabaka (712-700 B.C.), from a scene which he inserted on the sandstone walls of Ramses III's mortuary

temple at Medinet Habu, Thebes.¹ The king wears the tall white crown of Upper Egypt (top lacking), with the uraeus at his brow.

The early Ptolemaic age (about 300 B.C.) is responsible for many sculptor's studies, highly conventionalized but often rendered with exquisite detail.² Limestone is the most usual material. While examples occur in the round also, the Art Institute pieces are all in relief. They include the head of a man (20.257) wearing the plaited beard of the gods, such as was to be found originally on the coffin 94.369 also, and a queen's head with vulture headdress (20.259). Hathor (20.260) in a shrine supported by sistrum columns is

identified not only by her attributes but by the note: *Utterance by Hathor of Dendera*. Before her stands a table of offerings topped by the head



94.371



20.254



20.254

of an ox. Pleasingly spirited, yet delicate in execution, are a bull (94.371) and a ram (20.251). Both retain on parts not cut away the incised

¹ The whole scene is illustrated in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, pt. 5, pl. 1c. The head alone is shown, *ibid.*, pt. 3, pl. 301, no. 79. The original block is now in Berlin (no. 2104).

² On such works in general see Edgar, *Sculptors' studies and unfinished works* (in the Cairo Catalogue).

squares which were originally laid off on the surface as a guide for proportioning according to the accepted canons. A hawk *en creux* (20.258), with sun disk and uraeus behind him, represents Re-Harakhte. A group of creatures used as signs in Egyptian writing appear on the slate relief 20.253 (p. 44): a human head (*tp*), an owl (*m*), the head of a lioness, and a viper (*f*). An especially elegant little plover (*w*) is seen on 20.256. The owl (*m*) and the carrion kite (*aleph*) both occur on the verso of 20.254 (p. 45). This slab has had a complicated history. It was evidently used first for a lion, whose figure still shows the sculptor's cross-lines drawn in black. But the lion relief was later broken. Upon the back of our surviving half the same or another artist then sketched the birds, each in two stages, the finished first, and behind it a half-done example. This model also was afterward discarded; and on its original front, over the inverted remains of the lion, has been written a demotic inscription.

III

STATUES AND STATUETTES

OLD KINGDOM.—The same mechanical conception of the next life which made it desirable to preserve one's original body furnished also a motive for early sculpture in the round. If the actual body should perish, might not a copy serve the homeless soul? So already in the Old Kingdom, by about 3000 B.C., portrait-statues were to be found both within the tombs of individuals and in the mortuary temples of the kings. Though the body may be summarily treated, the face must be recognizable by the spirit; hence the impulse to realism in this early age.

Three types of Old Kingdom figures appear: sitting, standing, and free. Casts from royal statues of Khafre and Nuserre now in Cairo illustrate the first. The life-sized diorite statue of Khafre (IV. Dynasty) was one of a group discovered in a shaft in his valley temple at Gizeh, the so-called "Temple of the Sphinx." Two lions bear the throne, on each side of which is carved the coat-of-arms of united Egypt. The king himself, the builder of the Second Pyramid, faces stiffly forward, hands on knees (for the primitive law of frontality still prevailed). Behind his pleated headdress a protecting Horus hawk spreads his wings. Though the exceedingly hard material has necessitated summarizing face as well as body, yet an expression of exalted immobility, of regal calm, has been attained.¹ The well-preserved red granite statue of King Nuserre (V. Dynasty)² is smaller and less notable.

Good specimens of the standing type are the painted limestone statues of the nobles Ranofer and Ti.³ In them the eyes gaze straight ahead, while the figure stands rigidly erect, supported by a plinth, with the left foot advanced and arms straight at the sides. The use of wood,

¹ See further Borchardt, *Statuen und statuetten* (in the Cairo Catalogue), no. 14; also Bissing-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler ägyptischer sculptur*, nos. 9-10.

² Borchardt, *op. cit.*, no. 38.

³ Illustrations only are available for these. See Borchardt, *op. cit.*, nos. 19 and 20, Fechheimer, *Plastik der Ägypter*, pl. 32-34, and (for Ti) also Steindorff, *Grab des Ti*, pl. 1 and 142-43.

as in the so-called "Sheikh el-Beled"¹ (V. Dynasty), of which a cast is exhibited, permitted greater freedom of posture. No plinth is needed; and, whereas in stone both arms hang close to the body, here the left arm is raised and grasps a staff. How lifelike is this portrait of the bullet-headed, fat, self-satisfied old gang-overseer! The treatment is naturally more intimate and less formal and monumental than that accorded in stone to the kings and great nobles. But the technique is as remarkable: fine linen was first glued over the carved wood, then stucco was rubbed in to make a smooth surface, which in turn was painted. The eyes were inset of rock crystal.² Occasionally a carved wooden core was covered instead with beaten metal, as in the copper statues of King Pepi I and his son Mernere (VI. Dynasty) now in Cairo.³

The third group, free figures, includes various servants at work: bakers and brewers, the secretary, etc.⁴ These, too, are mortuary, a provision for the domestic and business needs of the next world. Together with the reliefs (see chap. ii), they constitute a most vivid means of acquainting us with the everyday life of this early age. The limestone "Scribe of the Louvre,"⁵ with reed pen in hand and papyrus roll on lap, looks ready after nearly five thousand years to continue his writing today.

MIDDLE KINGDOM.—Small wooden models of groups containing several figures had appeared already in the VI. Dynasty.⁶ They were the forerunners of similar compositions found regularly, along with individual figures, accompanying the coffins of the Middle Kingdom. A wide range of activities is represented, including brick-making,⁷ spin-

¹ "Head man of the village," a nickname said to have been given by the native discoverers because the statue so reminded them of their own sheikh. The variant accounts of its finding are well treated by Capart in *Journal of Egyptian archaeology*, vol. 6 (1920), p. 225-33.

² See further Bissing-Bruckmann, *op. cit.*, no. 11, and Borchardt, *op. cit.*, no. 34.

³ Bissing-Bruckmann, *op. cit.*, nos. 12b-13.

⁴ These are regularly of limestone. The largest assortment yet known from a single tomb is in Haskell Oriental Museum at the University of Chicago (nos. 10618-45). Fifth Dynasty examples in Cairo are published by Borchardt, *op. cit.*, nos. 108-18. The most famous Cairo scribe is Borchardt's no. 36.

⁵ Bissing-Bruckmann, *op. cit.*, no. 11B. On his name, rank, etc., see Capart in *Journal of Egyptian archaeology*, vol. 7 (1921), p. 186-90.

⁶ E.g., Borchardt, *op. cit.*, nos. 237-54.

⁷ Garstang, *Burial customs of ancient Egypt*, p. 131.

ning and weaving,¹ and armed troops, bowmen and spearmen.² Commonest, however, are model granaries, with workmen stowing away the grain while a scribe keeps count; scenes of baking and brewing; and model vessels, fully manned.³

An example of the last is 94.241, a wooden boat 41 inches long, equipped for both rowing and sailing. Provincial artisans, coping here with knotty material, have produced an object of interest, but not an artistic success. Its original mast was presumably arranged to lower



94.241

into a grooved rest which survives at the bow; the present fixed mast, though of ancient wood, may have been substituted by modern natives. We are to imagine the vessel southward bound from Meir, where it was found, with its missing sail hoisted to catch the prevailing north wind; for the fourteen rowers of its crew sit quietly with oars at rest. A beardless lookout at the bow scans the stream for shifting sand bars. All these

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

² Borchardt, *op. cit.*, nos. 257-58.

³ For all these last see Garstang, *op. cit.*, *passim*. See, too, Reisner, *Models of ships and boats* (in the Cairo Catalogue). The finest and most comprehensive lot of Middle Kingdom models yet known was found at Thebes in 1920 by the Metropolitan Museum of Art. See its *Bulletin* for December, 1920 (pt. 2), and *Scribner's magazine* for February, 1921.

men have red skins and wear black wigs and white kilts as usual. Well up in the stern, which in Egyptian ships is made higher than the prow, that the pilot may better see to pick his course, a steersman will have sat. His figure has been lost; but the great steering-oar, supported by a notched upright, remains. By swinging its perpendicular tiller to either side, the blade was tilted, the principle being the same as that employed in canoeing.¹

Such boats served spiritual, rather than physical, needs. The Pyramid Texts of the Old Kingdom refer often to the waters which must be crossed to reach the dwelling of the blest;² and a ship pictured in an Old Kingdom mastaba is *setting sail for the Field of Offerings*.³ Scenes of another sort, in Middle Kingdom tombs at Benihasan, show the mummy of the deceased noble being taken by boat to Abydos or Busiris, the sacred cities of Osiris, there to enter into mystic communion with that great ruler of the dead.⁴ These Benihasan scenes presuppose actual trips; but magic made possible an easier way. The tomb equipment of a certain Mentuhotep, for example, now in Berlin, included two model boats evidently intended for the Abydos voyage; for, while one was equipped with mast and oars, the other, meant for towing, carried a model bier and mummy of the deceased.⁵ Our Art Institute ship was presumably to furnish motive power for a similar magical journey to Abydos. The ushebtis described in chap. iv are a further exemplification of this same belief in the efficacy of magic figurines.

¹ As received by the Art Institute, this boat had been much tampered with by modern natives. Not only was the mast apparently a substitute, but a palpably modern sail had been provided. The oarsmen had all been placed facing the *bow*, a position as unheard of among the ancient Egyptians as among ourselves. One of them, beardless, seems to have been taken from a different group; others had been cut to fit their new locations. Several missing oars also had been supplied. The Art Institute authorities have removed the modern sail and yard, replaced the broken-off tiller, and faced the rowers in their proper direction. It is uncertain whether the oars, rather than the sail, should be shown in use; for the hands of the crew are in the posture of grasping, though the customary holes through the fists for attaching the oars are absent.

² Breasted, *Development of religion and thought in ancient Egypt*, p. 105 ff.

³ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, pt. 2, pl. 22d.

⁴ Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, pt. I, pl. XIV, XVI, and XXIX; cf. Breasted, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

⁵ Steindorff, *Grabfunde des mittleren reichs*, pt. I, pl. VIII-X (in color) and p. 32-39, on which part of the above is based. Cf. Garstang, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

One male head from an almost life-sized statue in black granite (20.261) is among recent acquisitions. But statues of the deceased intended to serve as second bodies in the tomb were now mostly far smaller than in the Old Kingdom. Thus 10.239, an XI. Dynasty statuette of a priest named Nebhepetre, stood little more than 8 inches high. It is of polished hematite, perfectly preserved except for the feet. The face, though summarily treated because of the hard material, suggests



20.261

a portrait. It represents an elderly man with shaven head. He stands stiffly erect, with arms hanging straight at sides, and wearing only a kilt which reaches down to well below his knees.¹ An inscription incised upon the kilt gives his titles: *Grand lector in the king's house, in charge of the mysteries in the august chamber, priest [assigned to] making offerings, the lector Nebhepetre, born of Sitamon.* The plinth also is inscribed. On its back is a bit of autobiography: *The lector Nebhepetre, he says: I (was) a gendarme in Karnak (and) lector (the rest is lost).* On the sides of the plinth are prayers for offerings. That at the priest's right reads: *A royal offering of Montu, lord of Madu.² May he give food offerings. . . .* That at his left is longer: *A royal offering of the great god, lord of the sky. May he give a mortuary offering of bread and beer and every good and pure thing for the revered one, the lector Nebhepetre. . . .*



10.239

Egyptian literature frequently likens the Pharaoh to a fierce lion. The concept was

¹ Cf. Berlin 8432 and 10115, illustrated in the Berlin *Verzeichnis . . .* (1899), p. 82.

² A suburb of ancient Thebes; its site is now called Medamat.

expressed symbolically in art as well, by a combination of royal head and lion's body. This procedure is at least as old as the Great Sphinx at Gizeh, that mammoth representation of King Khafre of the IV. Dynasty, carved in a headland of native rock alongside his valley temple.¹ Two strikingly impressive XII. Dynasty sphinxes of black granite, once belonging to a group that lined the avenue before the temple of Tanis in the Delta, are well shown in casts.² The face, presumably that of King Amenemhet III (1849-1801 B.C.) in his later years, is distinctly a portrait. The cheek bones, as often in Middle Kingdom work, are high and prominent. The lips are shaven, while the long ceremonial beard, attached by straps, is worn as usual. On the brow begins the royal uraeus, whose upward extension was probably of metal, as a dowel hole is provided for attaching it. A shaggy mask, with lion's ears and a mane that frames the king's face like a ruff, covers the head and shoulders. The recumbent lion body is lean and powerful. The original owner's name was carved in the customary position upon the chest, between the outstretched forepaws. But these statues and their mates were pre-empted by a whole series of later rulers. On their right shoulders the Hyksos king Apophis cut his name; Ramses II, the greatest appropriator of others' work in all Egyptian history, covered their high rectangular bases with his titulary; Ramses' son Merneptah appropriated their left shoulders; and a XXI. Dynasty king Pesibkhenno placed his cartouche directly over the effaced original name on their chests. As their appearance in general (though not in details) was abnormal, and the Hyksos Apophis was the earliest monarch whose name was visible upon them, it was long supposed that these works were to be credited to him; so the title "Hyksos sphinxes" became current. But in 1893 the Russian scholar Golenishchev demonstrated their probable XII. Dynasty origin.³

¹ See Reisner in the *Cosmopolitan magazine*, June, 1912.

² Bissing-Bruckmann, *op. cit.*, pl. 25-26. These two, found by Mariette in 1861, are in the Cairo Museum. Petrie, *Tanis*, pt. 1, pl. XIII 5, shows parts of others photographed during his own excavations in 1884.

³ In *Recueil de travaux*, vol. 15, p. 131-36. Golenishchev's explanation still seems most likely, though Capart (in *Les monuments dits Hycsos*) tried in 1914 to date them before the IV. Dynasty, as archaic or even predynastic. Petrie, reviewing Capart in *Ancient Egypt*, 1916, p. 188-92, seeks to account for resemblances in both periods by placing these sphinxes between the VII. and X. Dynasties as the work of "Eastern invaders who broke up the Old Kingdom," and supposing those invaders to have been kin of others who appeared at the beginning of the dynasties, while related also to the later XII. Dynasty kings.

A noble of the same period is seen in the rusty-looking stone statuette 10.254. Its lower half is unfortunately missing; but the arms, bent at the elbow, indicate a seated posture. The beardless face wears a tolerant expression which might appear as dignified as that of a certain Khertihotep in Berlin,¹ if only the nose were intact. Both of these grandees wear the same type of headdress, a short wig covered by a kerchief² and leaving the ears exposed. The latter are well proportioned and better placed than in the Berlin figure. Khertihotep is wrapped in a voluminous mantle, whereas our noble is nude down to the waist. His name is lost, though remains of an inscription down the back pillar indicate that he was a courtier of high rank, a *sole companion* of the king. The work is good in both conception and execution.

A dead noble required not only farm laborers to drudge in his stead (the ushebtis described in chap. iv) and a suitable staff of servants, but might even be provided with mistresses. Female figures of rough, red-daubed clay are found already in predynastic graves. The two blue-glazed concubines exhibited (94.1943-44) belong to the Middle Kingdom or possibly the early XVIII. Dynasty.³ Their nakedness is adorned only with armlets and bracelets, a long necklace which hangs below the waist, and a loose girdle resting well down on the hips. These ornaments, like the wigs worn, are applied in manganese. The wigs differ in type: that of 1943 is short and massed

¹ Fechheimer, *op. cit.*, pl. 46-48 (Berlin 15700).

² This horizontally seamed kerchief may be a more elaborate form of the simple type described by Winlock in the *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, November, 1916, p. 239, fig. 2.

³ Quibell, *Ramesseum*, pl. III 10-11, shows XII. Dynasty concubines, in limestone and lube glaze respectively, very similar to 94.1944.



10.254

at the sides so as to conceal the ears; in 1944 long tresses falling over the shoulders hang downward to the breasts. In both figures the arms lie close to the sides and the legs are cut off at the knee, apparently to fore-stall struggle and escape. There are no inscriptions. The black decora-

tion of 1944 is much more prominent, and its glaze is much glossier, than that of its companion.

EMPIRE.—Eighteenth Dynasty royalty appears in a cast of a black granite statue of Amenhotep III (1411-1375 B.C.), the most luxurious of the great Egyptian emperors.¹ His character is not at all suggested by the solemnly conventional face. The king sits, more than life-sized, in the same dignified pharaonic posture and garb which was traditional already in the Old Kingdom, with his heavy wig protected by the broad, pleated royal headcloth and



92.232

his long ceremonial beard attached by straps visible on each cheek. A lion's tail, another symbol of royalty, hangs between his legs. The finely pleated royal kilt to which it is attached covers him to the knees only. It is represented as held in place by a woven girdle with an oval metal fastening on which the owner's name would normally be engraved. Though this has been left blank, the fact that the statue was found on the site of Amenhotep III's mortuary temple at Thebes identifies it almost as certainly. On the sides of the low-backed throne are sculptured as usual the united plant-symbols which formed the Egyptian coat-of-arms.

A small head in alabaster (92.232), sadly mutilated, strikes one at once with its resemblance to recognized portraits of Amenhotep III's great queen, Tiy.² It shows the same prominent lips and chin, and twin uraei on the headdress. The body to which the head belonged, and even one side of the face, are unfortunately missing.

The war goddess Sekhmet, who was especially prominent during the Empire, appears in a tiny ebony statuette (93.71). She stands erect and

¹ The original, in London, is published in Budge, *Egyptian sculptures in the British museum*, pl. xxii.

² See Borchardt, *Porträtkopf der Königin Teje im Besitz von Dr. James Simon in Berlin*.

slender, without her usual scepter. Her right arm hangs straight; her left elbow is bent, so that the forearm lies across her body at the waist. She is lioness-headed and wears a uraeus. Behind this is a dowel hole in the top of the head, where the missing sun disk which formed part of her insignia was attached.

Another goddess, Mut of Thebes, is admirably represented in a cast. This colossal limestone head¹ once formed part of a statue group comprising both the god Amon and his consort, with perhaps a subordinate figure of King Harmhab (1350-1315 B.C.) as their offspring. The face of the goddess is bewitchingly human; it was in all probability modeled on that of Harmhab's queen Mutnozmet.

A cast of Ramses II (1292-1225 B.C.), one of the best known of Egyptian kings, names him in the hieroglyphs boldly incised down the plinth. The mutilated original statue² was one of a pair that stood before a doorway in Ramses' mortuary temple at Thebes. When brought to the British Museum in 1817, a century ago, this colossal granite figure still showed traces of red paint. Though face and insignia are conventional, the proportions of the mass lend it an imposing dignity.

DECADENCE.—Queen Amenirdis of the XXV. Dynasty (about 700 B.C.) is seen in a cast, the original of which was found prostrate beside a small chapel in the northern temple inclosure at Karnak. But chance had fortunately preserved both the statue and its mounting practically intact.³ The queen's slender figure, carved in yellowish alabaster, contrasts pleasingly with the gray-black of the granite block which forms its pedestal. Amenirdis stands erect, with left foot forward, dressed in a long, snug garment which seems to reach from throat almost to ankles. She wears a long wig, upon which rests a vulture cap. The vulture's head appears between two uraei on her brow. On top of the cap is placed a circlet of uraei. This was probably surmounted by a tall headdress, for there is a dowel hole at the point where it would have been attached. The circlet, as well as the queen's bracelets and anklets, will once have



93.71

¹ The original is published by Legrain in *Musée Égyptien*, vol. 2, pl. III and p. 7-9.

² Budge, *op. cit.*, pl. XXX.

³ Bissing-Brückmann, *op. cit.*, pl. 64.

been gilded, and her broad collar painted, to represent the materials of which her actual jewelry would be composed. Her gracious face suits the suggestion of a Libyan ancestry.¹ Features and posture unite to convey a notable impression of regal dignity. Inscriptions engraved on the plinth, the base, and beside the right foot include the queen's name and titles and her family connections as daughter of King Kashta of Ethiopia and sister of King Shabaka who conquered Egypt. The names of these two rulers, whom the native Egyptians looked upon as interlopers, were defaced after the expulsion of their dynasty.

SAITE AGE.—The Renaissance that followed lacked the vigor of the early sculptures which served as its models. Its best work is characterized rather by an appealing softness of form and smoothness of surface. Three fine statues of deities from a single XXX. Dynasty tomb, that of a scribe named Psamtik at Sakkara, are reproduced by casts. Their subjects are Osiris, Isis, and Hathor in cow form.² The god Osiris sits in conventional posture, swathed as a mummy but with hands free and holding the whip and crook staff as usual. He wears the tall white crown, flanked by feathers and with a uraeus coiled upon its front. His consort Isis is likewise seated. The circlet on her head is evidently a simplified development of the uraei type worn by Queen Amenirdis. Above it stands the headdress of cow horns and sun disk which belonged originally to Hathor but had now fallen to Isis also by assimilation of the two goddesses. Yet Hathor herself is represented independently in the third and best statue of the set. In this group, which stood between Isis and Osiris, Hathor, *mistress of the western highland* (i.e., the cemetery region), appears as a cow protecting Psamtik, the owner of the tomb, who stands in a devotional attitude beneath her chin. The animal form is magnificently rendered, with thorough appreciation of real bodily structure, yet with idealized symmetry and dignity. The cow's face wears a gentle, wistful expression. Psamtik himself is slender, with delicately modeled

¹ See Reisner in *Harvard theological review*, vol. 13 (1920), p. 23-44, and elsewhere.

² Cairo 38358, 38884, and 784 respectively. The first two are published by Daressy, *Statues de divinités* (in the Cairo Catalogue). For the last see Bissing-Bruckmann, *op. cit.*, pl. 73A and 73B. The three are presumably of the same material, though given in the foregoing publications as green basalt, black basalt, and "grüner, metamorphischer Schiefer" respectively. Mariette, their discoverer, in his *Monuments divers* calls them all green basalt. Maspero's *Guide to the Cairo museum* (1903), p. 368-69 of the English edition, calls Osiris green basalt, the other two serpentine. Roeder's German edition (*Führer*) of 1912, p. 59, says all are of "dunkelgrüner Schiefer."

features and flowing contour of arms and chest. His short, yet heavy, wig is in keeping with the plastic effect of the whole, for it does not end squarely, but curves inward behind his shoulders. From a chain about his neck depends an amuletic plaque. His long, stiff kilt has been treated as a mere tablet whereon his name and titles are incised. Hathor and her protégé are plainly intended to be seen from the front only; for a side view reveals much stone not cut away, but left to strengthen the statue. The headdress and ears of the cow are thus supported, while the spaces between her legs and behind Psamtik's body remain filled with a continuous wall of stone. So the legs are really in high and in low relief alternating inversely on each side. Around the bases of all three statues are carved mortuary prayers in behalf of the deceased Psamtik.

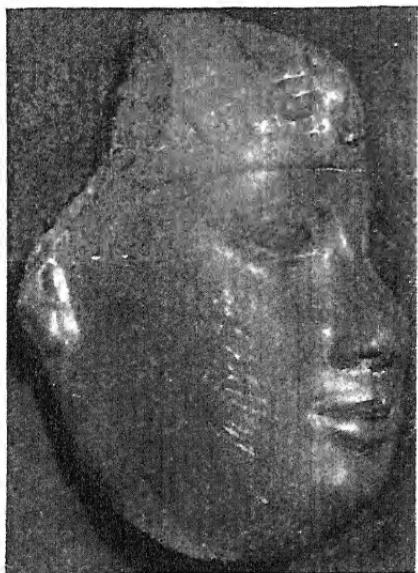
Another cast reproduces a famous XXVI. Dynasty statue of Toëris,¹ whose name means *the Great*. The basalt original was found at Karnak, enshrined in a little sandstone chapel. The goddess has the body of a pregnant hippopotamus; her head resembles that of the same animal, though the characteristic snout and tusk which occur in some Middle Kingdom examples are as usual modified to show small teeth and a protruding tongue. She stands erect in human fashion, with human breasts and arms; but her hands and feet are lion's claws. Each "hand" rests upon the symbol of magical protection. Markings down the plinth corruptly represent a crocodile's tail, all that survives to suggest the complete crocodile depicted on the backs of some early examples. Since Egyptian deities are habitually represented either as human (with human or animal head) or in the *normal* form of their sacred animal, it seems probable that this hybrid hippopotamus originated as a magician's disguise, the inherent magic power of which gradually attained individual deification and was even adopted into the Osiris myth. Twelve goddesses of this type were ultimately developed, one for each of the twelve months.² Toëris is commonly associated with the grotesque male divinity Bes. Both are protectors of infancy and childhood, warding off evil spirits and harmful creatures by their horrible appearance and their actions respectively. Bes appears to have been particularly hostile to snakes, and Toëris to crocodiles.³

¹ Daressy, *Statues de divinités* (in the Cairo Catalogue), no. 39145.

² Daressy in *Recueil de travaux*, vol. 34, p. 189-93.

³ Jéquier in *ibid.*, vol. 37, p. 114-20.

Maat, the goddess personifying Truth or Righteousness, is portrayed in an admirable little squatting figure of pale green fayence (10.160).



x.120

Her body and limbs are quite covered by the mantle she is wearing; her expressive face gazes straight forward. On top of her head once stood her symbol, a feather; but now only its bronze stub remains. Another good fayence piece (94.356) represents the god Horus as a hawk. His plumage is rendered in detail. A rough, round, flat place on top of the head shows where his double crown has been broken off.

The fragment x.120 belonged to a fine royal statue of gray basalt. Unfortunately only the right side of this head is preserved.

The king

wears the customary pleated headdress, with the uraeus on his brow. His face is beardless, long, and narrow. The eyes are full, with a ridge to indicate the brows. The cheek bones are rather high, yet not prominent. All the contours are soft and rounding, and the surface is perfectly smoothed. A tiny head in black basalt (92.164) formed part of a second king's figure. The coils of his uraeus are poorly defined, his cheek bones are not at all emphasized, and his puffy headdress lacks all detail. Any inscriptions which either statue bore have gone with the missing portions.

A black granite kneeling statuette of this Saitic period (10.243) represents the revered in the presence of Osiris . . . in Dep and of Horus-



10.160

the-Great of the Two Lands, dwelling in the horizon, (namely) the priest of Horus the bull of his mother, Osirisnakht, son of the clothing-keeper Harhotep, born of the house-mistress Tediese. Aside from the foregoing illuminating inscription on the plinth, the figure is notable for its smooth finish and perfect preservation. A wig without a part reaches to the shoulders. The face is conventional but well rendered, with prominent chin; a broad collar hangs about the neck. Osirisnakht has turned his head slightly to his left. His empty hands lie flat along his thighs, which are covered by a short kilt.

The green basalt fragment 94.673, the upper part of a seated statuette of very crude workmanship, pictures a man with broad face, thick lips, and puffy wig. The nose has been mashed, and the top of the head roughened by weathering (?). A narrow plinth meant to be vertical, but whose sides are very irregular, bears illegible hieroglyphs.

A woman's head is seen in 11.104, of painted limestone, found at Sakkara. The skin is a shiny yellow; the wig is black, and its long strands run, unbroken by a part, across the brow from shoulder to shoulder.¹ The broad, black eyebrows stand out in relief; and a broad collar, also in relief, adorns the thick neck. The face is quite conventional, and no inscription is at hand to identify the lady.

The monster cat 22.4800 (p. 60), carved in solid wood, stands $22\frac{1}{2}$ inches high. In both size and dignity this figure is unusual.

¹ A similar female head found by Quibell at the same site is called Saitic; see his *Excavations at Saqqara (1905-1906)*, pl. xxx. Men, too, wear this type of wig; cf. the granite statuette 10.243 described above.



10.243

Two seated statuettes of Osiris, 10.244 and 94.231, are perhaps not as early as the XXVI. Dynasty. The former is of steatite which has been

hardened by firing; its surface is now a glossy greenish brown, shading into black at the base. The back of the god's throne merges into a plinth which tapers upward to the knob of his Upper Egyptian crown. On the front of this appears the customary uraeus. Osiris' narrow face is full of dignity. His arms are crossed, the right one over the left, while his right and left hands hold the crook and whip respectively at his opposite shoulders.¹ The outward curve of swelling leg muscles is seen through his mummy swappings. Good workmanship in this figure contrasts with the rougher style



22.4800

of 94.231. The latter also is of steatite, but in its naturally soft condition and with its whole surface still showing scratchy tool marks. Osiris' crown is of the distinctive *atef* type, like the preceding with the addition of a plume at each side. This time the god holds his right fist, with the whip, above his left, which grasps the crook; so the insignia are each carried at the same shoulder as before, though held in the other hand.² His face is rather square; his



10.244

¹ As in Cairo 38366 (published in Daressy, *Statues de divinités*).

² Both statuettes thus illustrate the normal position of whip and crook. The reversed position occurs rarely, as in Cairo 38272, 38320, 38392, 38409-11, etc. (see Daressy, *ibid.*).

beard is plaited as in the previous case. The legs, very crudely blocked out, rest upon a base which is slightly curved in front.

GRAECO-ROMAN AGE.—Steatite was a common material for statuettes in the Ptolemaic age and later. The surfaces of these figures were then, however, often camouflaged to suggest hematite or granite. The seated cat 93.29 was treated in the latter fashion. She is just over 3 inches high, very slender, with summarized features and a head disproportionately small. This creature was sacred to the goddess Bastet. A steatite fish (94.975) on a flat base seems to be swimming.¹ Hematite is imitated in the ram's head 94.752, broken from a statuette of the creator-god Khnum. A dowel hole at the top was probably for attaching a sun disk.²

The limestone fragment 94.687 may also be Ptolemaic. It shows a beardless man with somewhat idealized face and regular features. His wig, rendered without detail, is of shoulder length. At the back

of the statue is a broad plinth in the form of a stela with curved top but unfortunately not inscribed. This rather pleasing figure still bears tool marks. It was marred already in antiquity, for numerous nicks are weathered to the same creamy brown tint as the finished surfaces. Other breaks, modern, reveal the natural whiteness of the stone.

A blackened steatite head (94.820) with inlaid eyes of black and white glass seems to represent some Roman emperor in the guise of an Egyptian god.³ The headdress, now broken off, which extended cross-wise, may well have been the plumes of Amon. Conventionalized markings over the forehead and on the back of the head are reminiscent of the imperial laurel wreath. The face wears a rather pleasant expression, marred by a battered nose. Only a suggestion of the long, plaited beard worn by the gods remains.

¹ For other fish, in bronze, see p. 108.

² As in Petrie, *Amulets*, no. 187a.



94.687

³ Suggested by Dr. Williams.

IV

USHEBTIS¹

Statuettes that merit separate treatment are the so-called *ushebtis* figures. In the Old Kingdom, as we have seen, fair-sized statues of the deceased were secreted in his tomb to serve as substitute homes for his soul. By the Middle Kingdom such replicas had become quite small (e.g., 10.239, the statuette of Nebhepetre). Parallel with these little replacement bodies in the dress of life occur other figures in mummy form, often resting in model coffins. Either the model coffins or the figures themselves might bear the name of their owner for identification purposes, with frequently a prayer for offerings in his behalf. The model mummies seem intended as magic substitutes to save the actual mummy from the need of doing manual labor. Farm work was the sort most dreaded. The Egyptians, who were primarily an agricultural people, often thought of the hereafter as a great field, cultivated by the dead, wherein the grain grew 7 cubits (12 feet) high, with ears 2 cubits long. Such a paradise might well delight a simple nation of peasants; but the great lords and ladies of the Middle Kingdom and later felt no desire to participate. The charm which released them (first known at the beginning of the XII. Dynasty) introduces the name by which our mummy models are known. In the XVIII. Dynasty, from which the earliest Art Institute ushebtis date, it reads:

O thou ushebtis,² if Osiris X (name of deceased) is assigned to do any work that is done in the other world—[now evil is smitten for him there!—as a man to his duties, to cultivate the fields, to irrigate the banks, to transport sand of the East and of the West, “Lo, here am I” shalt thou say.³

¹ Recent articles on this subject are by Petrie in *Ancient Egypt*, 1916, p. 151–62, and by Dr. Williams in the *Quarterly bulletin* of the New York Historical Society for January, 1918. The latter has also kindly put her notes on the subject at the author's disposal.

² The form actually used in these earlier texts is *shabi* or *shawabti*; *ushebtis* is a later spelling which is the better known. The meaning of the name is still disputed.

³ This charm was incorporated into the Book of the Dead (described in our chap. xii) as chap. 6 (=chap. 151).

The first ushebtis had been in complete mummy form; but it was soon realized that work required free hands and arms. Amulets were now sometimes represented in the hands; but by the XVIII. Dynasty essential agricultural tools began to be provided instead. At first they were in the form of separate individual models: tiny sacks, neck yokes, brick molds, and hoes of bronze, pottery, or wood. But the normal type which developed and persisted to the end shows the equipment in relief or painted on the figure.

One ushebti may have been considered sufficient at first, though pairs are found already in the XI. Dynasty. Next, as many as a dozen might be provided. Under the Empire the number rose sometimes to several score. Kings were yet more abundantly supplied: Seti I (XIX. Dynasty) is said to have had almost seven hundred. Later even non-royal individuals received as many as one for each day of the year. So the world's museums are extensively populated by ushebtis. Though some examples are of very good workmanship, the factory methods developed under stress of enlarging requirements made the artisan, rather than the artist, supreme.

Materials used were chiefly stone, wood, and pottery.¹ The last, ranging all the way from fayence to unbaked mud, came latest into use and is by far the commonest.

EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY.—To the XVIII. Dynasty belong the only stone ushebtis in the Art Institute collection. The oldest is 92.29, of limestone, made for *Wehemwaz, born of the house-mistress Nofret, begotten of Se.* His squat figure is bearded like a god, with hands empty and arms folded on chest. A broad collar is painted in red and black. The ushebti charm is roughly incised in five horizontal lines.

Only the feet of two polished hematite ushebtis (94.979 and 92.73) survive. They were inscribed in four columns down the front with a text heretofore known only from an alabaster figure in Berlin:² *Causing that the ushebti do work for the revered one, Osiris King X, deceased, in the other world. O ye gods who were be[side] the All-Lord, sit before him.*

¹ Bronze and glass ushebtis also occur in the XVIII. Dynasty. See Randall-MacIver and Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos*, pl. xxxix.

² Published in *Aegyptische inschriften aus den k. museen zu Berlin*, vol. 2, p. 279 (no. 9544); it probably belonged to King Harmhab (beginning of XIX. Dynasty). Dr. Williams states that three unpublished ebony ushebtis of Amenhotep III in the Metropolitan Museum of Art at New York (nos. 1915.2.10-12) bear this same text.

Remember ye the king; mention ye his name. Give ye to him an evening portion, [even) before¹ ye hear all his petitions, in the district of Peker, that he may celebrate the feast of Wag. (When) Osiris King X, deceased, appears in order to cultivate the fields, to irrigate the banks, to transport sand of the East to the West, "I will do it; here am I," shalt thou say. But the last sentence above is replaced in our two inscriptions by one which

may be reconstructed to read: [May Osiris King X, deceased, appear in the presence of Wennefer to receive bread daily. The incised hieroglyphs have been filled with yellow paste. On 94.979 survives the name of King Amenhotep III (XVIII. Dynasty), to whom both figures probably belonged. Though 92.73 was bought at Luxor, the mention of Peker, a district sacred to Osiris at Abydos, indicates that both may have come originally from the latter site. Especially fine ushebtis were, indeed, often buried at Abydos during the XVIII. Dynasty, regardless of



the place of burial of their owner, for the sake of closer association with the great ruler of the dead.¹

A finely wrought, well-proportioned ushebti in hard wood (92.28) resembles 92.29 in attitude. It belonged to the scribe of the treasury of the god's (i.e., the king's) wife, *Nebseni*. The ushebti charm is handsomely, but quite corruptly, incised in four columns. The hieroglyphs are colored dull blue; the eyes are in black and white. It was bought at Luxor.

The chief builder of Amon, *Amenhotep*, whose canopic jars (92.36-39) were described in chap. i, was the owner of 92.234. This unpretentious little ushebti is made of soft wood, painted white, with the face yellow

¹ So Petrie, *Royal tombs*, pt. I, p. 3 and 32-33. Amenhotep III himself was buried at Thebes. Cf. the Middle Kingdom use of model boats carrying model mummies, as mentioned on p. 50.

and the features and incised hieroglyphs black. Its charm is the most correctly written of all the Art Institute examples. On the base the name *Amenhotep* occurs alone, written with pen and ink in the cursive hand, called *hieratic*¹—evidently a memorandum made before the text was cut.

A most interesting type is 12.1176,² abnormally slim, beardless, and with hands and arms invisible under the imaginary mummy wrappings. The hard, dark wood was painted in red and black, with a yellow panel down the front containing an incised inscription: *Made as a favor on the part of the king for the king's chief steward, Kenamon.* This ushebtu, found close by the reputed tomb of Osiris at Abydos in 1912-13, was presented by the Egypt Exploration Society. As its owner's tomb is at Thebes,³ it illustrates again an attempt to obtain magic benefits for the dead by bringing a substitute body into association with the god.

NINETEENTH DYNASTY.—The XIX. Dynasty ushebtis are more ornate, but coarser, than their predecessors. Their ground color is commonly white, representing linen mummy wrappings. Upon this the broad collar, basket, hoes, etc., are painted. Black on yellow is a favorite color scheme for the inscriptions. In the wooden ushebtu 94.1939, the elbows are slightly suggested. The figure wears beard and broad collar, while a basket dangles over each shoulder. Its owner's name and title are obscure. The text of the charm is incomplete, for the scale of the writing is too large for the assigned space.

Another wooden figure, 94.1149, wearing an extremely broad collar painted in great detail, stands with folded arms. Even the bands across the throat that hold the wig in place are indicated. Each hand grasps a hoe, while over the left shoulder hangs a basket and behind the right a yoke is seen. The face is yellow and beardless, for this time a lady is represented. Yet the phrase naming her and introducing the ushebtu charm reads conventionally: *[Instruction of (=by)]¹ Osiris the house-*

¹ See p. 157.

² Published by Peet, *Cemeteries of Abydos*, pt. 2, p. 116 and pl. xxxix 5. The wood, somewhat broken and decayed, has been filled with paraffin to preserve it.

³ See Breasted, *Ancient records*, vol. 2, secs. 801-2; and cf. references cited in his footnotes. Daressy in *Annales du Service*, vol. 19, p. 149-52, describes more ushebtis of this same Kenamon, found, strange to say, at Zawiyet Abu Musallim near Gizeh. As he was a brother of the nurse of Amenhotep II, part of his life must have fallen in the great days of Thutmose III's conquests. Two other wooden ushebtis of his are now in Haskell Oriental Museum at the University of Chicago (nos. 10479 and 10515).

mistress, the singer of Amon (i.e., member of his temple choir), *Mayat, deceased.* He says.¹ Is identification with the male deity Osiris responsible for this masculine form of address?² Or is it simply carelessness?³

Similar in style, but smaller and cruder, is 94.1148. The red but beardless face is that of an unnamed man; the hands are mere daubs of paint. Yellow stripings on the white ground imitate the outermost bands of mummy wrappings. The evidently incomplete inscription, confined to one column down the front: '*Instruction of¹ Osiris, Anubis presiding over the divine hall, the lords of the West,* is of uncertain significance.

Two painted terra cotta ushebtis (94.374-75) similar in design to the wooden 94.1939, but beardless, invoke the usual charm (corrupt and incomplete) in behalf of *the priest of Onuris, Mes.* Their hands are not clenched as usual, but lie flat. On another terra cotta pair (94.678-79), the white ground was ruled off to contain the ushebtu charm, but only its introductory formula (in the column down the front) has been inserted: '*Instruction of¹ Osiris the singing woman of Amon, Inhai.* Did this pair belong to the lady of the same name and title whose Book of the Dead is now in the British Museum (no. 10472)? If so, they are of the XXI. Dynasty, down to which time the foregoing style continued. Their beardless faces are painted red like a man's. A few strokes of blue indicate the broad collar about the neck. Besides the basket on the back, Inhai's representatives carry painted on their shoulders a yoke, from each end of which hang water jars.

A less usual type is that of 93.74, the upper part of a bearded black steatite ushebtu in the dress of life, clasping to its breast the human-headed bird that symbolizes the soul. The carefully detailed wig, parted in the middle, falls forward over the shoulders; the pleated costume hangs gracefully on the standing figure. Below the hip are traces of a lost inscription.

¹ This same introductory formula is found with all previous occurrences of the normal charm (92.29, 92.28, 92.234, and 94.1939), but is first mentioned here because of its inconsistency.

² Suggested by Dr. Williams. She notes, however, that the feminine pronoun was duly used in the early XVIII. Dynasty at least, e.g., in the case of Ahhotep in the New York Historical Society's collection.

³ The writer thought at first that Mayat's name and titles were written over an erasure where a man's name might once have stood. But he has since found parallel instances which could not be so explained (e.g., Berlin 4653 and 10267).

Glazed ushebtis of the XIX.-XXI. Dynasty comprise 94.660 and 94.711. The former is of unwontedly pale blue, decorated in a vivid purple. Its inscription gives only titles of Osiris; and even the basket on the back is omitted. *Osiris Beket, deceased*, was the owner of 94.711. Her basket dangles behind her right shoulder, with one end hanging loose. The blue is dull, and the black of the inscription lacks the usual purplish cast.

TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY.—Near Deir el-Bahri in the western cliffs of ancient Thebes some Egyptian peasants discovered and began to plunder in 1871 a hiding-place of royal mummies who had been assembled here for safety from ancient tomb robbers by the weak rulers of the XXI. Dynasty. Not until 1881 were the modern robbers and their find tracked down. The mummies then rescued and taken to the Cairo Museum included the greatest emperors of Egypt, among them the conquerors Ahmose and Thutmose III of the XVIII. Dynasty and Seti I and Ramses II of the XIX., as well as members of the ruling Theban family of the XXI. Dynasty.¹ The latter's ushebtis, of rich blue glaze, filled twenty or more boxes and numbered thirty-seven hundred. They are all beardless. Those in mummy form regularly carry a hoe on each shoulder and a basket on the back. The basket, and often the hoes, are merely sketched in manganese like the inscriptions; the wigs and the folded arms are regularly in relief.

A few of these XXI. Dynasty royal ushebtis have found their way to the Art Institute. Nos. 94.1940-41 and 94.637 belonged to the chief of the concubines of Amon, *Isimkheb*, whose husband, Menkheperre, as high priest of Amon, headed the Egyptian hierarchy. The first two, in mummy form, are quite squat, 1940 being especially so; and the inscriptions are coarse, corrupt, and incomplete, though the five lines on 1941 completely encircle the body. That the ushebtis had by now become wholly transformed in Egyptian thought from a substitute for the dead into his servant is shown by the appearance at this juncture of a new type, the overseer, represented by Isimkheb's third figure (94.637). This, though it bears her name, is dressed as a man in the kilt of the living and provided with the taskmaster's whip. Menkheperre's son, the high priest of Amon, *Paynozem*, owned the two mummiform figures 94.268 and 92.30; his wife, the chief of the concubines of Amon, *Nesikhonsu*, who died about 953 B.C., owned 94.777. These three all bear the ushebtis charm, more or less corrupt, at full length; and both sexes wear the same

¹ For a complete account of this find see Maspero, *Les momies royales de Déir el-Bahari*.

sort of fillet about the head. Two more ushebtis from the same find (94.778 and 94.618) are inscribed in only one column down the front: *Instruction of Osiris the god's* (i.e., the king's) wife *Makere* and *Instruction of Osiris Henuttowe* respectively. The royalty of these two ladies is emphasized by the cartouches which inclose their names and by uraei



94.1940

94.1941

94.637

on the foreheads of their figures. Only the front of these two is molded; the back is flat.

In 1891 another joint burial place of the XXI. Dynasty, but belonging to priestly families of lower rank, was discovered near the foregoing one and likewise furnished some ushebtis for our collection. *Osiris Userhetmes, deceased* (94.280), is identified from objects now in other museums as a *priest of Mut, treasury scribe, and priest of Amon*. Like Paynozem, he wears a fillet. The lady *Meritamon* was equipped by more than one firm, to judge from the variations in style and in spelling of her name in 94.275-76. A pair (94.301-2) belonging to the *scribe of the temple of Mut (priest of Amon respectively)*, *Nesipernub*, seemingly includes corrupt scraps of the ushebtu charm. Objects elsewhere combine and add to his titles. The second figure is in the form of the living. *Osiris Tentopet*, elsewhere stated to be a *singing woman of Amon*, is represented by two small, mummied figures (94.303-4) and two somewhat larger in the dress of life (94.307-8). All four of this female group wear the fillet, as do the two males following. The first of these (94.756) is in

the name of the third prophet¹ of Amon, Thanofer, a younger son of Menkheperre and Isimkheb. The second (94.277) has the ushebtu charm briefly: 'Instruction of Osiris the prophet of Amon, Hori, deceased. He says: O thou ushebtu, if Osiris Hori, deceased, is figured on to do any work in the other world, "I will do it; here am I" shalt thou say.'



94.288

94.291

94.286

94.297

Besides the above in blue glaze, the second Deir el-Bahri find supplied many unglazed figures of terra cotta and even of unbaked mud, all too small and crude to contain even a scrap of the ushebtu charm. Amon, his consort Mut, and their son Khonsu, the members of the Theban triad, are especially prominent in the proper names of these humblest folk. A very slender whitewashed terra cotta ushebtu (94.286), inscribed in black ink for *Osiris the priest Pediamon* ("He whom Amon gives"), deceased, has at its foot a sort of pedestal like that often molded into mummy cases of the period (e.g., 10.238). *Zemaatesonekh* ("Maat says: 'She lives'"), elsewhere called a *singing woman of Amon*, is named on 94.290 and 292. The backs of these are simply flattened, and 290 is especially clumsy. Nos. 94.291 and 295, belonging to *Ankhesenmut* ("She lives for Mut"), are of terra cotta painted blue in cheap imitation of fayence. A man, *Ankhefenkhonsu* ("He lives for Khonsu"), has two whitewashed figures (94.288-89) not distinguished in form from those of

¹ As the high priest's designation is *first prophet*, Thanofer ranked third in the hierarchy. The title *hm-ntr*, literally *servant of the god*, has been translated *prophet* ever since Greek times; but it has nothing to do with foretelling.

the women preceding. The lady *Nesikhonsu* ("Belonging to Khonsu") of 94.294 shares a common name with the princess of 94.777. Typical female figures wearing the fillet are those of *Tabekenhonsu* ("The servant of Khonsu") (94.287 and 296). *Tenttowe* ("She of the Two Lands") is represented by two rude, flat-backed ushebtis painted to resemble pale-green fayence. One (94.285) is in mummy form with grotesquely wistful features; the other (94.293), in the dress of life, is unusual in that its *left* arm, rather than its right, is raised. The depths of poverty seem reached by *Osiris Khaas*; for her statuette (94.297) is of unpainted, unbaked mud.¹

RENAISSANCE.—Almost no ushebtis of the XXII.-XXIV. Dynasties are known.² The Ethiopians of the XXV. Dynasty revived their

¹ Other like ushebtis of the same XXI. Dynasty people are widely scattered. Parallels include:

NAME	ART INSTITUTE, CHICAGO	FIELD MUSEUM, CHICAGO	INSTITUTE OF ARTS, MINNEAPOLIS	STAATLICHE MÜSEEN, BERLIN
Isimkheb . . .	94.1940-41 94.637 (overseer)	31024	.....	8541-46 cf. 8539
Paynozem	94.268 and 92.30	.....	.....	7386, 7695, 8547-50
Nesikhonsu	94.777	.....	.....	8551-52
Makere . .	94.778	.....	.....	8533-34
Henuttowe...	94.618	cf. 31015	.....	.....
Userhetmes...	94.280	.....	.....	11913
Meritamon...	94.275-76	31034 and 31040	.....	11914 (4 figures), cf. 10136-42
Nesipernub.....	94.301 94.302	.....	16.366 16.402	.....
Hori.....	94.277	31016	16.372 and 375	.....
Pediamon.....	94.286	31183, cf. 31042	16.730 and 733	.....
Zemaatesonekh...	94.290 and 292	31046	16.727 and 732	.....
Ankhesenmut . .	94.291 and 295	31184	.....	cf. 11911 (2 figures)
Ankhfenkhonsu..	94.288 94.289	31181 31045	.....	.....
Nesikhonsu . .	94.294	31047	.....	11950 (4 figures)
Tabekenhonsu...	94.287 and 296	31187	.....	.....
Tenttowe.....	94.285 94.293	31044	.....	cf. 11941 (2 figures)
Khaas.....	94.297	31178	.....	11977 (2 figures)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, also has some; cf. Mace, *The Murch collection of Egyptian antiquities* (Supplement to its *Bulletin*, January, 1911), p. 17-18.

² Two ushebtis from a probably XXII. Dynasty group are in Haskell Oriental Museum at the University of Chicago (nos. 6883-84); another of the same group is illustrated by Professor Garstang, its finder, in his *El Arabah*, pl. xiv.

use;¹ and the Renaissance or Saite period (XXVI.-XXX. Dynasty) was most prolific. The figures of this latter age, like statues, regularly have a plinth at the back and stand upon a pedestal. They are now always mummiform and wear the divine beard, having been definitely assimilated in these respects to Osiris, with whom the dead had so long been identified. For equipment the right hand holds both a wooden hoe and the rope by which a small basket is suspended over the left shoulder; the left hand holds a new type of pick with metal blade.² All these details are in relief. The material is blue or green fayence, with depressed inscription. This commonly includes the ushebtu charm, now somewhat expanded in form. The mother's name, too, is often given with that of the deceased. Some of the later figures are entirely uninscribed.

The first original Egyptian object acquired by the Art Institute was an ushebtu (90.30) dating from the end of the XXVI. Dynasty, presented by Miss Amelia B. Edwards, founder of the Egypt Exploration Society in England. It had belonged to *Osiris the priest, the servant of Neit, Horuza, born of Shedet, deceased.* His burial, found by Petrie at Hawara,³ was one of several reached from a single shaft 40 feet deep. The limestone sarcophagus was enveloped in masonry except for a recess on each side. There Horuza's lengthily inscribed ushebtis were marshaled with their lower ends bedded in sand, 203 of them on one side, 196 on the other. The original plan may well have been to furnish one for each day of the year, with an overseer (though no longer in dress of the living) for each ten. All were hand-modeled, forming several well-defined groups with variations in size,

¹ "Over a thousand beautifully carved stone" ushebtis were found by Reisner in the pyramid of Taharka at Nuri in Ethiopia; see the *Museum of fine arts bulletin*, vol. 16, p. 71-74 (October, 1918).

² Cf. Schäfer, *Priestergräber . . . vom Totentempel des Ne-user-re*, p. 173-74.

³ Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara, p. 18-19. Another of Horuza's ushebtis is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



90.30

details, and quality. Our specimen was very well done; its blue-green glaze has been discolored by water.

The three pale-green ushebtis 93.30 and 94.299-30, in the name of *Psamtik, born of Amenirdis*, are also hand-modeled and vary slightly in size. They were found at Sakkara and may be as late as the XXX. Dynasty. Another *Psamtik, born of Duarekhit*, was provided with the blue figure 91.49.² Both these men were namesakes of the founder of the XXVI. Dynasty. The next three represented commemorate its fourth king Wahibre, whom the Bible calls Hophra. They are: *the king's intimate, the sem-priest Wahibremeriptah, born of* (91.48);² *Wahibreemakhet, born of the house-mistress Sedi* (91.47);³ and *Wahibremanofru* (94.305).⁴ The last is green, quite small, and bears an abbreviated and very corrupt text of the charm; all of which suggests a relatively late date. Nos. 94.299-300 may also be late. They lack the clean-cut appearance of most of the others in both faces and inscriptions, the latter being practically illegible. Their pale-green glaze is of poor quality and flakes off readily.

Besides the foregoing ushebtis, all of which bear the regulation charm, corruptly written though it may be, there are others with briefer texts or none. Thus 94.1942 has only the introductory remark: *[Instruction of] Osiris the hereditary prince, count, custodian of the raiment of the [god], Hori, born of Uzatshu, deceased.* It is of pale blue, now mostly worn off to white. No. 91.50, in dark green, is similar: *[Instruction of] Osiris the seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, Horu, born of Isenmehit, deceased.*⁵ The profile of Horu's face is especially pleasing. These last two figures have one horizontal line of inscription over a vertical one instead of a series of parallel lines as usual. The titles on both have been revived from the Old and Middle Kingdoms. A much curtailed form of the charm occupies two columns down the back pillars of 94.225-28: *O thou ushebti, if Osiris Pedipepet, born of Bastirdis, [is sought], "behold me" shalt thou say.* These four figures of dull blue, individually modeled, were found at Sakkara in 1893.⁶ Uninscribed XXX. Dynasty specimens

² Piot collection, no. 473. ² Piot collection, no. 472. Color worn off to white.

³ Piot collection, no. 476. Dull green; carries two hoes.

⁴ Haskell Oriental Museum at the University of Chicago has a duplicate (no. 9434).

⁵ Piot collection, no. 477.

⁶ The Art Institute has a fifth member of this set in storage. Two more are in the Field Museum (nos. 31052-53).

of blue, with darker hair and beard, are 93.31 (glossy) and 94.321-22. The latter, rougher pair come from Kau el-Kebir. Their varying heights and dissimilar baskets show that they also were hand-wrought. The brief text of 94.320, beginning on the back pillar and continued down the front, dispenses with all preliminaries: *If Nesiptah, born of Tedipekhrod, is assigned to do any work in the other world, "here am I" shalt thou say.* The blue glaze has turned partly green.

Ptolemaic times may be represented by such ushebtis as 94.316, a small, slim, green figure marked only *Osiris Hapiwer*.¹ Very like it, but uninscribed, are 94.312-13, whose slight differences seem to mean hand-modeling.

¹ A duplicate is in Haskell Oriental Museum at the University of Chicago (no. 9441). There may be an additional element at the beginning of the name, for an *r* has been inserted in both examples before *Hapi*. Whether mistakenly or not, it is intentional, since individual work on the two is evidenced by slight differences in detail of both equipment and hieroglyphs. The name *Hapiwer* is given in Lieblein, *Dictionnaire de noms hiérogly.*, no. 1819, from a Middle Kingdom stela in Cairo; but its text as since published by Lange and Schäfer in the Cairo *Catalogue* (no. 20374) shows that the *wer* is not there. Another spelling, *Hapuwer*, is given in Lieblein, no. 199, from a XII. Dynasty stela in Florence which is published in full by Schiaparelli, *Museo archeologico di Firenze: Antichità egizie*, vol. 1, no. 1544, 1.216. Here, as on our ushebtis, the *wer* is indicated by the figure of an aged man.

V

POTTERY

PREDYNASTIC.¹—After man had learned to control fire, he must have been delighted to discover that by it he could harden clay into permanent forms. Pottery thus became the simplest and most convenient material available for dishes and receptacles of all sorts. Pottery vessels have been used abundantly in Egypt since prehistoric times. Those of the predynastic period, found chiefly from the neighborhood of Abydos upstream as far as Nakadeh, are all handmade, antedating the invention of the potter's wheel. In the oldest, Nile mud was mixed with as much sand as it would carry. After shaping, the outside was smoothed, coated with a slip of hematite, and burnished. At first such vessels were baked directly on the open fire, so that their mouths sank into its ashes and were locally blackened by deoxidation of the hematite.² This class of "black-topped" pottery is largely represented in the Art Institute. Cups of various sizes, such as 94.524, 528, and 403, were perhaps the earliest forms used. A contraction below the slightly flaring lip, sometimes hardly noticeable, sometimes prominent, produced jars like H. 1772 and H. 1836 or 1738 respectively. Many small jars (e.g., 94.339 and H. 1659, 1674, etc.) have only a slight collar or none at all above the

¹ Most of the Art Institute's early pottery comes from the first predynastic Egyptian cemeteries discovered. These are described by Petrie and Quibell (under the tentative designation of "New Race" remains) in their volume named after the nearest towns: *Naqada and Ballas*. On pl. xviii-xli Petrie arranged the pottery types in a large corpus, which is supplemented by pl. xiii-xix in his *Diospolis Parva*. The latter volume puts these remains in their proper period and works out a comprehensive system of sequence-dating to determine the relative age of the individual types (chap. i). The pottery is described by classes in chap. ii. Ayrton and Loat, *Predynastic cemetery at El Mahasna*, and Randall-MacIver and Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos*, interpolate their later discoveries into Petrie's corpus. A new classification, aiming at greater consistency, is offered by Peet, *Cemeteries of Abydos*, pt. 2, p. 10-13; but on p. 15 he himself reverts to the established system. For convenience of reference, then, the Art Institute's pieces are summarized at the end of this

[This footnote continued on following page]

² Detailed modern experiments by Mr. H. L. Mercer in producing this type of ware are quoted in Randall-MacIver and Woolley, *Areika*, p. 17-18.

graceful in-curve of the shoulder. Pointed forms in the style of H. 1779 could be either stuck directly in the sand or set into a stand or rack.

Pottery made like the preceding, except that it was kept entirely out of the ashes, so that its whole surface was exposed to the air, attained a more uniform color. This so-called "polished red" ware appears in the bowl H. 930. Our collection is, however, richer in jars. These have, in general, a less elongated appearance than do the "black-topped" varieties, small (and longer) necks become more common, round bottoms are no longer unusual, and the forms as a whole seem more

note in the terms and order of Petrie's grouping, wherein the styles are distinguished by a prefixed letter:

B = Black-topped

W = Wavy-handled

P = Polished red

D = Decorated (with red or black paint)

F = Fancy forms

R = Rough-faced

C = Cross-lined (white on red)

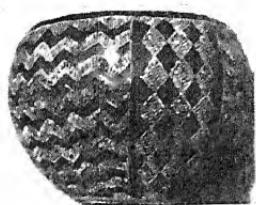
L = Late

N = Incised black (white on black)

PETRIE'S TYPE	ART INSTITUTE Nos.	PETRIE'S TYPE	ART INSTITUTE Nos.
B 22c....	94.524	P 37....	H. 1689
25c....	94.528	40a....	H. 1831, H. 5303
26c....	94.403	40b....	H. 1844
27d....	H. 5304	40c....	H. 1824, H. 1845
27f....	H. 5238	40e....	94.526; H. 1862, H. 9022
35a....	H. 1774	41b....	H. 5233
35d....	H. 1772	45b....	H. 5235
37b....	H. 1818	56a....	H. 5275
39d....	H. 1779	58....	H. 938
53....	H. 5420	75....	H. 1800
53a....	H. 1836, H. 5302	82a....	H. 1807
54a....	H. 1738	82c....	H. 837
57b....	94.339; H. 852, H. 1672, H. 1713, H. 1771, H. 1859, H. 1949, H. 1952	93d....	H. 838
58a....	H. 1642, H. 1857	C 75-76 ..	show form sim. 92.41
58b....	H. 1659, H. 1674, H. 1773, H. 1851, H. 1958	N.....	cf. 92.70
58c....	H. 1658	W 19....	H. 736
63a....	H. 1716, H. 1840, H. 5075	43....	H. 740
74a....	H. 1792, H. 5564	62....	H. 5222, H. 5243
76.....	H. 5321	D 19....	94.352
P 4.....	H. 930	56-57...	10.253
36c....	H. 1801	67....	92.40, 92.46
		L 16b....	H. 5285
		78....	H. 912

Since the foregoing table was drawn up, Petrie has published a new *Corpus of prehistoric pottery*. It appeared in 1921, but has not yet been accessible to the writer.

graceful. The same ware, with or without the black discoloration, is found also in various "fancy forms."¹ Among them are oval bowls and jars, vessels with spouts, vases in the shape of fish, birds, or animals, and imitations of stone types. Besides variation of form, decoration was accomplished by applying color. "Cross-lined" designs in white on the "polished red" fabric constitute, then, class four, to which the vase 92.41 belongs. Basket work provides a usual motif for this class; but it is not clear whether our faint pattern of vertical waves and columns of unequal rectangles is to be thus interpreted.²



92.70

A fifth class, black inside and out, is more or less polished externally and has designs incised, then filled with white. Similar wares occur in

many Mediterranean regions, as well as in Nubia and the Sudan, and at divers periods. The perfect little bowl 92.70, bought at Luxor, illustrates this type, though it was probably made in Nubia in the Middle Kingdom instead.³ For the predynastic Egyptian technique survived in Nubia long after it had died out in Egypt proper. The bowl is hand-made, with that marvelous regularity of form that characterizes the best early work; and its depth and the in-curve at the mouth, also its decoration with wave- and diamond-patterns, are analogous to predynastic examples found by Petrie.⁴

A clay almost free from sand is used for classes six and seven, "wavy-handled" and "decorated" respectively. In the former class (e.g., H. 736 and H. 740), pleasing vases with a pronounced swell below the neck, then tapering gradually to the base, are provided on opposite sides with ledge handles scalloped into various wavy patterns. As time passed such jars were made more cylindrical, the scallop completely encircled

¹ Not represented here; but see drawings in Petrie and Quibell, *Naqada and Ballas*; Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, etc.

² A rather similar pattern on a finer but badly broken vase is illustrated in Peet, *Cemeteries of Abydos*, pt. 2, pl. IV 4-5.

³ Cf. a bowl illustrated by Dr. Williams in the *Bulletin* of the Metropolitan Museum of Art for September, 1913, p. 203.

⁴ It is less than half as large, but slightly deeper in proportion and has a little more in-curve at mouth than the bowl N 60 in *Diospolis Parva*, pl. xiv. Its decorations are suggested but not equaled by those in *Naqada and Ballas*, pl. xxx, N 24-32.

them, and sometimes a net of cordage was added in paint (as on H. 5222 and H. 5243). For the ointment which earlier vases had contained, mud was more and more completely substituted. The so-called "decorated" pottery depended entirely upon paint (red, rarely black) for its adornment. A small double jar (94.352) with a lug at each side for suspension is covered with vertical and horizontal waves. A stocky jar with three lugs (10.253) has two waves around the neck over two rows of hills. Two squat globular jars (92.40 and 92.46) are decorated with spirals. In the publications other designs are illustrated; most significant are the many-oared Nile boats that visualize for us some of the world's earliest shipping.

Following an unattractive "rough-faced" ware of impure clay full of bits of straw,¹ there is a ninth and last class of "late" pottery. This includes various fabrics, the commonest being like that of the "wavy-handled" and "decorated" pieces. An open bowl (H. 5285) and another with incurved collar (H. 912) belong here.

DYNASTIC BEFORE THE EMPIRE.—Some "late" predynastic forms, among them the bowl type last described, continued well into the Old Kingdom. But invention of the crank-and-shaft borer, mankind's earliest *machine*, resulted in replacing the finer handmade predynastic pottery with machine-bored *stone* vessels; and the potter's skill deteriorated with lack of incentive. Then another new invention, the potter's wheel, which likewise appeared during the I. Dynasty or very soon thereafter, produced a new revolution; and by the IV. Dynasty wheel-made pottery had in turn supplanted stone vessels for ordinary purposes.² A wheel-made pointed jar with straight collar (94.415), thoroughly regular in form but utterly prosaic, belongs somewhere in this period; its shape is found still handmade in the I.-II. Dynasty.

EMPIRE.—Passing by the wheel-made hemispherical bowls and round-bottomed pots characteristic of the Middle Kingdom but lacking in our exhibit, we reach various XVIII. Dynasty types. First may be mentioned the open bowls 94.426, 449, 428, and 412, with bright red slip (polished or unpolished) and a slight but distinct foot. The lip curves inward, and in 94.412 is even rolled over so as to recurve downward. Two squat jars with contracted neck (94.417 and 410), the first having a slight ring foot, are decorated around the body with groups of vertical

¹ Not represented in the collection.

² See Reisner, *Early dynastic cemeteries of Naga-ed-Der*, vol. I, p. 132-34.

stripes in reddish brown and in black respectively. Another vessel in the same style (94.407) has a longer neck and is provided with a handle. Four vases with polished bright red slip (92.42 and 94.511, 520, and 534) have a gracefully swelling body, with the point at bottom slightly rounded off, and a slender neck. The small-mouthed grain jars 92.44 and 47 preserve a type that occurs handmade as early as the late predynastic period.¹

A large jar (94.532) with flat yellow slip has a beading painted in black around the body and again at the mouth. An amphora of similar size and form (94.399) had two handles (both lost) and a rounded lip. Besides the beading below the handles, there is a ring of red and black triangles (representing some floral motive?) around the neck. On each side, between the handles, is a panel colored in a diamond pattern. A polished yellow slip covers 92.45, a water jar of the middle or late XVIII. Dynasty with tall, straight neck and two loop handles. Flattened circular "pilgrim bottles" of the XVIII.-XIX. Dynasty² are illustrated by 94.350 and 353. These have two handles in the plane of the body, one at each side of the short neck. The reddish buff surface of 94.350 is decorated with circles painted in reddish brown. Its fellow, smaller and unadorned, has one side more convex than the other, so that its capacity is increased without corresponding discomfort to the wearer.³ Some organic contents still remain. Another bottle (94.326) is longer-necked and has only one handle, this time at right angles to its width.

DECADENCE.—To about the XXII. Dynasty belong the jar 92.48 and the bowl 94.423. The former⁴ is egg-shaped, with a low collar and two small handles. It is made of a yellowish clay which must have been weak when wet, for it was strengthened while baking by a cord which has left its marks around the body at the shoulder. The otherwise smooth outer surface shows numerous lines scratched by the tool used in the final shaping. The bowl is of a red fabric, unpolished, with four small handles placed at equal distances around the shoulder below the brim. The

¹ Reisner, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

² The XXII.-XXVI. Dynasty type is described under "Glazed Ware" (p. 86).

³ As Engelbach, *Riqqeh and Memphis VI*, p. 32, says of a similar piece, it is "flattened on one side so as to be carried better against the body." The carrying was, sometimes at least, done by means of a cord net with loop handle, e.g., Petrie *et al.*, *Tarkhan I and Memphis V*, pl. 13. Besides pottery, a specimen in pure tin is known (Ayrton *et al.*, *Abydos*, pt. 3, pl. xvii 20 and p. 50), and another of silver (Petrie, *Abydos*, pt. 1, p. 34), both XVIII. Dynasty.

⁴ Like Petrie, *Qurneh*, pl. XLIX 783

center of the bottom projects below the circumference of the ring foot, so that lack of steadiness results.¹

SAITE-PTOLEMAIC PERIOD.—Greek influence was prominent in Egypt during the Renaissance as well as during the centuries following Alexander's conquest. It finds expression in the form of 94.397, a tall, graceful amphora with knobbed foot and strap handles. Some Egyptian imitator of late Ptolemaic times may have made the ungainly travesty 94.398, of dull grayish yellow, its surface streaked with black. A third amphora shape (94.390) has a bowl-like neck; and its foot is deeply hollowed upward. Its lip is ornamented with a band of red paint. The rough-surfaced red pot 94.416 expands just above its projecting foot, then tapers gradually toward the mouth.

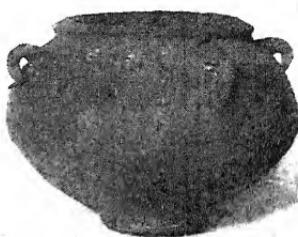
Two squat, painted jars (94.538 and 10.245) of thin yellowish white fabric are

Ptolemaic or early Roman. The former has two lugs perforated vertically. Below these comes one wavy, reddish brown line, followed by other plain lines and bands which encircle the jar down to the point of its maximum diameter. The second vessel, more delicately painted, has really graceful curves and a more pronounced foot. Brownish black lines cover its loop handles and encircle the body everywhere except for two zones, one around the base, the other over the shoulder.

ROMAN AGE.—The pottery of Roman Egypt is inclined to be inartistic. Novelty is often sought at the expense of beauty. In the squat red jug 94.347, a band of corrugations encircles the body just above its widest point. The lip makes on one side an awkward junction with the handle; on the other it is shaped into a sort of spout. A double-handled, thick-bodied jug with rim base (94.402) is provided with a spout projecting independently in teapot style. The mouth of this jug is protected about three-fourths of an inch below the top by a strainer with five perforations, made in one piece with the vessel itself.² No. 94.395, over 3 feet tall, is an amphora of normal Roman type, slim and pointed, with two small handles near the top of the long, corrugated neck. The squat vase

¹ This seems to be akin to Petrie, *ibid.*, p. 768; cf. his description, p. 15.

² Sieve mouths occur already at the beginning of the dynasties. See, e.g., Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, pl. xix 50.



94.423

94.405 swells convexly upward from its base; but at half height the curve changes to concave, forming a thick neck and providing space beside it for the two large handles.

Three distinct methods of decoration are illustrated in 94.408, 672, and 512 respectively. The first, a tall red jug with one sway-backed handle, has on each side a palm branch and across the front a fish, all



94.512



94.408

painted in black. The second is a jar of yellow-gray, without a handle but with irregularly shaped neck suggesting a pitcher with spout. Just below the neck come three small figures *modeled in relief*: a crocodile and two other crudely made hieroglyphs (?), so widely spaced that no connection seems intended. The last vessel (94.512), of polished red pottery, has a very small mouth and one

handle, on which a palm branch is *incised*. The sloping upper portion of the body also is covered with incised figures. Starting from a rope in the center opposite, two fishes, a hare, and another rope occupy the space at each side of the handle. The rest of the body, down to the base, is corrugated.

Canopic jars of pottery have been described already on p. 20. The same material was used also for some of the ushebtis of chap. iv.

VI

GLAZED WARE¹

By the beginning of the dynasties Egyptian craftsmen had mastered the principles of glazing. Solid quartz seems, strange to say, to have been one of the earliest materials to which glaze was applied. But a special "body" too, a very sandy frit, was in use contemporaneously, producing a ware often, but inexactly, called "fayence." Blue in various shades, due to copper compounds, was the favorite color for the glaze itself, in imitation of turquoise and lapis lazuli. The light blues have often faded in part to white; but other shades, except the very dark, turn more usually to an uneven blue-green. In many instances a blue-green tone is original; and during the Renaissance a pale apple green is preferred. Glaze was used throughout Egyptian history for a wide range of objects. Part of these have been described already: a canopic jar lid on p. 20, some statuettes on p. 53 and 58, and ushebtis in chap. iv. Glazed beads, amulets (including figurines), and scarabs will find their place in chaps. ix-xi. Other objects, especially vessels, finger rings, and wall-inlays, are treated below. Work along these lines before the Empire is not represented.

EMPIRE.—Cosmetics had been employed by the Egyptians as far back as their graves can be traced. The kohl jars² 94.669 and 94.994 are of a stocky, flat-lidded type which is common in both Middle Kingdom and Empire. The first, of brilliant blue fayence, is still almost full of its original contents (galena). The second, a bit slenderer, is apparently of green-glazed talc schist.³ Only traces of its contents

¹ See Petrie, *Arts and crafts of ancient Egypt*, chap. 10; also the catalogues of Henry Wallis, *Egyptian ceramic art* (of the MacGregor collection, 1898), and of W. von Bissing, *Fayencegefässe* (in the Cairo Catalogue, 1902). Wallis' book, published just too soon to obtain a proper chronological perspective from the predynastic discoveries of Petrie and Quibell, is notable for its many excellent full-sized reproductions in color.

² *Kohl* is the modern Arabic name for powdered antimony used as a cosmetic.

³ The glass on the jar is much thicker and more uneven than on the lid, and may be a modern recoating. It covers nicks in the lip. Marks of the lathe or wheel are prominent on the contiguous surfaces of both lid and jar, also just inside the mouth of the cavity.

remain, in a cavity which seems much deeper than its mate's. More decorative is 91.50 $\frac{1}{2}$, hand-wrought, of the same material as the preceding, in which an ape holds before him a bored tubular vase. His tail lies along the oval base on which he squats. The unadorned tubular

type appears in 92.33, a double jar of blue fayence found at Deir el-Bahri, Thebes.

A very shallow bowl (94.758), only half-preserved, bears on the inside¹ a sketch in manganese of a seated lady sniffing a blue lotus flower. A lotus leaf with wavy stem fills the space before her bent knee. The outside has a narrow flattened base, above which the bowl is decorated to represent a full-blown blue lotus blossom. Another blue-glazed bowl with a border of lotus petals inside (94.757) shows faintly a suppliant lady, with festive ointment cone on head and dressed in the flowing garments of the Empire, standing before a table of offerings in the presence of the throned goddess Hathor. The latter wears horns, sun disk,

and uraeus, and carries a papyrus scepter. Behind her stands a sun-shade (?) in lotus form. Short columns of inscription above the table are now illegible. This bowl has no formal base; its outside is all one even curve.

Fish-shaped vessels of alabaster² and fayence³ occur under the Empire. A realistic half-fish in dull blue-green with black trimmings and perforated at the mouth (94.607) is with some hesitation assigned to this period. The inside is unglazed except around the edge. Lack of a base, with resulting unsteadiness, would indicate that this may be the cover of a dish now lost.⁴

¹ Published by Wallis in a drawing, *op. cit.*, p. 31, fig. 59, where it is called "Ramesside" (XIX.-XX. Dynasty).

² E.g., Ayrton *et al.*, *Abydos*, pt. 3, pl. xv 4 and xviii 11 and p. 49 and 51, probably of the XVIII. and XIX. Dynasties respectively. The second most resembles our fayence.

³ Mentioned in Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*, p. 28.

⁴ Bissing, *op. cit.*, calls "Ptolemaic (?) the dish Cairo 3857, deep blue on its upper surface and with a short, grooved fishtail handle at each end.



94.758

The XVIII. Dynasty cup 92.34 has a graceful foot and flattened globular body with rather large neck and expanded mouth. Its glossy, deep blue (now partly greenish) surface bears in black line lotus sepals and petals expanding above the foot, while about the neck hangs a ring of solid black triangles (representing a wreath of leaves?)¹ pointing downward. A similar cup (94.848) of lighter blue and with more slender foot has lost its upper portion. Its body is quartered by panels of rectangles. The interiors of both cups are roughly glazed over manganese.

The XVIII. Dynasty vase 13.550, of thin, light greenish blue fayence, with straight neck and fluted ovoid body, was presented by the Egypt Exploration Society from its finds at Abydos.² Another vase (94.451), of rich blue-green, has a longer body with more rounded bottom and a neck that slopes slightly outward.

A charming fragment (94.966) comes from the shoulder of a splendid jar. It bears part of an ornamental collar that encircled the neck of the vessel, and below this the cartouches of the monotheist emperor *Nefer-kheprure-Wanre*, *Ikhn[aton]*, all of light-blue glaze inlaid into a dark-blue ground. The interior is unglazed. The same technique is seen in 94.1959, a knob from a box, or perhaps a boss from the frame of a chair or bed. The cartouches, in pale green this time, are of *Nefer-kheprure-Wanre* and his queen *Nofretete*, placed vertically facing each other on the slightly convex top. In the under side is the rectangular slot by which the knob was attached.³

The small rosettes x.22-24 are perforated for use as ornaments. They are presumably XVIII. Dynasty work from Deir el-Bahri.⁴ Two lotus flowers in blue (94.969) served perhaps as pendants on XIX. Dynasty earrings.⁵ A bunch of grapes is represented by x.41, blue, flat-backed,

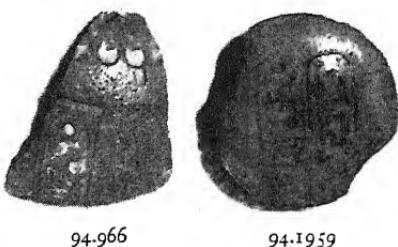
¹ So Bissing, *op. cit.*, nos. 3626 and 3630.

² Published in Peet and Loat, *Cemeteries of Abydos*, pt. 3, pl. x 9 and p. 33.

³ These pieces were undoubtedly found at Tell el-Amarna. On the technique, cf. Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*, chap. 4, and especially p. 28.

⁴ Cf. Naville, *XI. Dynasty temple at Deir el-Bahri*, pt. 3, pl. xxv.

⁵ Cf. Vernier, *Bijoux et orfèvreries* (in the Cairo Catalogue), no. 52399.



and provided with a ring at top. Many such bunches, some flat, some in the round, were found at Tell el-Amarna. They served as ornaments attached to and increasing the realism of glazed wall decorations that brought indoors the beauties of nature. A hollow disk (94.605) is decorated with a band of purple-black about its circumference and rough circles of the same color on its convex sides. The perforation which passes through both sides at a point near the edge suggests that it, too, served as a pendant ornament.

The sharp-nosed hedgehog 94.714, blue-green with black markings, is hollow and particles inside rattle when shaken. Was it a toy? It dates from the late Empire or some later time.



94.714

One-piece finger rings of glazed ware,¹ mostly so fragile that they must have been mere models for the use of the dead,² are numerous during the Empire. Royal names, common on the bezels, begin with Amenhotep III in the XVIII. and end with Seti II in the XIX. Dynasty. The former's throne name *Nibmare* in a cartouche appears on x.43, and his personal name *Amenhotep, ruler of Thebes*, in an oval on x.44, both in the usual blue. His son Amenhotep IV is called *Neferkheprure-Wanre* on the three green rings x.46-48 and on the coarse blue ring x.49; only the bezels of these four survive. The same king's later name *Ikhnaton* is on the broken green ring x.50. His son-in-law and ephemeral successor Sakere is represented on x.51 by his throne name *Ankhkheprure*. After a few years of turmoil under shifting rulers the strong general Harmhab attained the throne about 1350 B.C. under the name *Zeserkheprure-Setepnere* found on x.52 and x.53. His personal name *Harmhab, beloved of Amon*, occurs on x.54-56, the last of which is so coarse as to be almost illegible. Harmhab's successors in the XIX. Dynasty, Ramses I, *Menpeh tire*, and Seti I, *Menmare*, are commemorated by x.57 and x.58 respectively.

¹ Similar rings in stone and metal, the originals from which the glazes were copied, are described on p. 100 and 111.

² But near the palace of Amenhotep III at Thebes was found "a factory for the manufacture of small glazed objects" which "yielded hundreds of moulds, fragments of rings, charms, pendants, beads, etc." See Tytus, *Preliminary report*, p. 25; also Winlock in the *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, vol. 7 (1912), p. 187. The objects from this site, as Dr. Williams has remarked to the author, were clearly made for the living.

Seti's son, Ramses II (the Great), bears his throne name *Usermare-Setepnere* on x.59, and his personal name *Ramses, beloved of Amon*, on x.60-62. Besides *Seti, beloved of Ptah* (Seti II), on x.63, there is one other uncertain XIX. Dynasty royal name on x.64.

Names, figures, and emblems of deities also occur on rings. Nos. x.65, of white fayence, and x.66, of blue, have *Amon-Re*. On x.67-68 he is called *Amon-Re, king of the gods*. Hathor heads serve as bezels on x.69-70. There is a figure of Bes in relief on the bezel of x.71 and of Toëris on that of x.73; while in x.72 the bezel itself is in the form of Toëris. A serpent wearing the Northern crown is seen in high relief but sunk into the bezel of x.74. The goddess Uto is probably represented both there and in x.75-76, where the bezel is in the form of a serpent with the tail apparently ending in a lotus bud above the head. Whether the serpent of x.77-78, erect but with the end of the tail recurved to touch the ground, is also Uto is uncertain. Other animals emblematic of deities may be seen in the seated ape on x.79 and the seated cat on x.80. A recumbent cat in the round, molded in dark-blue glass, adorns the bezel of the incomplete, white-glazed ring 93.46. A fish is the bezel of x.81, a scarab that of x.82. Another scarab, shown as in a setting, but all of one piece as usual, is in x.83. In x.84-91 and 92.205 the bezel is a sacred eye (the right eye in each instance). All are blue except the last, which is purplish gray with the white of the eye white. Purely decorative or unintelligible designs, mostly in mixed colors, occur on x.92-97, while x.98 is a plain ring without bezel. The characters on 92.204 suggest Cretan influence.

Glazed wall-inlays have been referred to above. A particularly charming XVIII. Dynasty specimen is 10.163, a blue lotus blossom, the details of which are rendered in green, dark- and light-blue, red, yellow, and white fayence. Holes by which the plaque was attached to the wall are seen in its upper and lower edges. A cream-colored fragment of the late XIX. Dynasty (x.40) bears the throne name of Seti II inlaid in gray. Pieces like it have been found at Heliopolis;¹ and the walls of the Luxor temple show holes whence others have fallen out.² A ruined temple of Ramses III at Tell el-Yehudiyeh in the Delta has furnished thousands of glazed rosette inlays, most of which are in the Cairo Museum. Only four of our rosettes (91.51-54) were definitely found there, though 94.734-40 may have come from the same site.

¹ Petrie and Mackay, *Heliopolis, Kafir Ammar, and Shurafa*, pl. viii 5.

² Petrie, *Arts and crafts of ancient Egypt*, p. 112.

DECADENCE.—The Egyptians of the Empire had made beautiful fayence goblets in the form of lotus blossoms, and had, indeed, named the type “lotus.”¹ The perfection of the best period is inadequately revealed by 94.754, of pale blue-green, much discolored, and with its foot broken off. It is decorated around the base with lotus petals in relief. Then comes a band representing water (indicated by wavy lines on end), and above it the main theme: the Nile god (four times repeated) bringing offerings. He is accompanied alternately by a calf and by a goose.

A ring (x.8) in purplish glaze has an oval bezel in green inscribed with the throne name of Pesibkhenno II, *Tiyetkheprure-Setepnere*, whose reign closed the XXI. Dynasty, about 945 B.C. This name has been found at Abydos.²

RENAISSANCE.—So-called “pilgrim bottles” in glazed ware are a development of the Saite age. They are flattened, circular vases with short, slender necks which often swell above into flower shapes. Thus 94.772 is designed after the lotus and 94.776 after the papyrus blossom, while 94.496 is shaped like the preceding but without incised markings for the petals. At each side of the neck is regularly found an ape, while on one or both faces is incised a broad, heavy collar, such as has already been noticed on mummiform coffins. The edge often shows more or less decoration in a network design. The form may originally have developed in leather, for a “pilgrim bottle” of that material, “with a scratched pattern exactly like that of the same shape in pottery,” has been found at Thebes.³ According to their inscriptions, these fayence vases served as New Year’s gifts. The legend on one edge of 94.495 reads: *May Ptah (give) a Happy New Year to its (the vase’s) owner.* The opposite edge makes the same appeal to Re, while 94.496 calls on Amon and 94.776 on Ptah and his consort Sekhmet together. Dry scraps of organic matter, apparently part of the original contents, were found in 94.496. In 94.772 we have a crude model “pilgrim bottle,” disproportionately thick, with unpierced lugs at the neck instead of apes, and with painted, instead of incised, decoration. On its front stands a two-column inscription which merely names *the good god, lord of the Two Lands, given life forever, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Wahibre* (Psamtik I, founder of the XXVI. Dynasty).

¹ Bissing, *op. cit.*, p. xvii.

³ Quibell, *Ramesseum*, p. 13.

² Daressy in *Recueil de travaux*, vol. 21, p. 9-12.

Two blue-glazed rings of this period (92.202-3) show for bezels a head of Sekhmet surmounting a broad collar and a plaque inscribed *Happy New Year* respectively. The same wish is incised on the front of a paint cup (94.744). Both this and a double paint cup (94.634) have rims outlined in a rope pattern with bezels added to suggest cartouches. The two flattened papyrus flowers 92.57 and 92.82, in differing shades of blue glaze, were probably clasps for necklaces. Threads of individual strands will have entered the several small holes found along the broad upper edge and come out united below.

An object of uncertain function is 94.478, hollow, grooved around the edge, and with its circular sides of varying convexity. The latter are ornamented with rosettes, the more convex side showing smaller lobes than the other. There are perforations through the center of each face, and again on opposite sides of the groove. Similar pieces found at Lisht by the Metro-

94.478

politan Museum expedition are clearly not later than the XXII. Dynasty, while another in the Cleveland museum shows a Greek maeander ornament.¹ These objects have commonly been called reels; for plain, flat-sided wooden reels have actually been found with thread in position. But among the various glazed specimens none has been found with thread attached, none are known with both sides flat, and perforations are sometimes present, sometimes lacking. It has also been suggested that they are spindle whorls. Here, again, the occasional lack of a perforation is awkward, and published types of Egyptian whorls are distinctly different in principle.² A third possible use is as ear studs or pendants. Analogous ear ornaments (XVIII. Dynasty) in black pottery and in ivory have been found at Abydos.³ While some of these are 1 inch or less across,

¹ See the discussion by Dr. Williams in *Journal of Egyptian archaeology*, vol. 5 (1918), p. 170.

² Cf. Petrie, *Abydos*, pt. 1, pl. LII (I. Dynasty), and Ayrton *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pt. 3, pl. LVII (XVIII. Dynasty).

³ Cf. *ibid.*, pt. 3, pl. XVI 7 and p. 49 (pottery); *ibid.*, pl. XVII 9 and p. 50 (ivory); and Peet and Loat, *op. cit.*, pt. 3, pl. XII 6 and p. 30 (pottery).



others are as large or larger than our specimen (1 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches in diameter).¹ A fourth possibility,² that such disks may have been strung as central ornaments in necklaces, could, like the third, dispense with perforations and get along with the groove alone; but it seems unsupported by representations in Egyptian art of the period.

GRAECO-ROMAN AGE.—Probably later than the foregoing objects is a compound oil receptacle (94.646) consisting of four tiny vases on a common base $2 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in size. Each vase is of the same type, tapering upward toward the mouth. Similar groups, in limestone and in pottery, but arranged in a single row, were made as early as the I. Dynasty.³ The individual vases of a group are not always alike, as here, but may show differences in both size and form.⁴ Instead of a base, a four-jar group in Cleveland is arranged as a plaque with flat back. This last is so tiny that Dr. Williams has preferred to call it an amulet;⁵ but the type as a whole served apparently for making real or model offerings at tombs, fulfilling for the poor the same needs which the rich met with larger, finer vessels of alabaster.⁶

A lamp of Roman type (94.639) has a very glossy finish, but with many cracks in its blue-green glaze and the handle rough. The neck is rather long, and part of the lip above is broken off. This lamp may possibly be even as late as the Arabic period.⁷

¹ Dr. Williams in a letter calls attention also to the *Hilton Price catalogue*, vol. 2 (1908), not accessible to the writer, where no. 4799 on p. 89, an object of the same type as our Art Institute piece but smaller, has already been called an "ear stud."

² Pointed out by Professor Breasted in conversation.

³ Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, pt. I, pl. xxxi 3-4; and Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, pottery type D91c.

⁴ Cf. Wallis, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

⁵ In a letter; cf. her discussion in the *Journal of Egyptian archaeology*, vol. 5 (1918), p. 168.

⁶ Cf. Bissing, *op. cit.*, p. xxviii.

⁷ Cf. Petrie, *Roman Ehnasya*, pl. LXIX N60, of the tenth (?) century.

VII

MINOR ARTS IN STONE

VASES

INTRODUCTION.—Even before the coming of metal, magnificent vases, in hard as well as soft stone, had been wrought in Egypt by the aid of stone tools alone. The softer vase materials used included Egyptian alabaster, slate, and limestone; among the harder were porphyry, hematite, and diorite. The exterior was first roughly chiseled into shape. Then a vertically held drill with projecting handle, weighted at the top by two stones tied on for a flywheel, was commonly used to grind out the interior. Its cutting edge was of quartzite, held in a fork of wood which was lashed to the body of the drill. Such a method, in use before 3000 B.C., involved grinding to bits all the stone thus removed. After drilling, it was necessary to rub away the rest of the interior by hand.¹ With metal available, a new and more economical drill was developed. The open end of a copper or bronze tube now did the cutting, leaving *unground* a cylindrical core which could be broken away.² Excavation of the interior was sometimes expedited by making a vase in two or more sections, often showing differences in texture or even in kind of stone, joined vertically or horizontally. Smoothing and polishing of the exterior was done with pebbles. A sort of vertical lathe was frequently used to turn the vases. It served also for the interiors of plates and bowls.

Large vases of stone constituted the finest type of dishes for the table or for storage of food. Individual tables occur, their surface still marked by grease spots; and as many as fifty or more stone plates, bowls, and

¹ This whole technique, including also the final smoothing of the outer surface, is well shown in an Old Kingdom relief from Sakkara, published in *Musée égyptien*, vol. 3, pl. xxii and p. 25-27. Quartzite grinders are illustrated in Petrie, *Meydum and Memphis (III)*, pl. xxxix and p. 44. There and in Engelbach, *Riggeh and Memphis VI*, pl. LX, the stages of making alabaster vases may be followed in spoiled or unfinished pieces.

² A vase with part of the core still in place is in the Field Museum. Haskell Oriental Museum at the University of Chicago has three alabaster cores on exhibit (nos. 10702-4). These cores are not perfectly cylindrical, for the metal, as it advanced, wore away itself as well as the stone.

jars have been found in a single tomb.¹ Small and dainty phials, bottles, and jars held the oils and cosmetics needed for the toilet. For, like other classes of objects, such equipment has been preserved for our inspection by the Egyptian custom of laying it with the dead for their use in the hereafter. Pottery vessels, such as were described in chap. v, were largely but a substitute for the more costly stone.



92.22

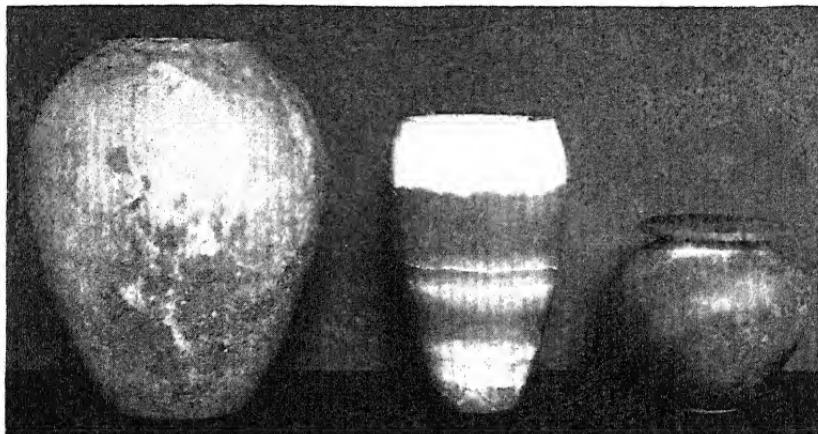
94.256

OLD KINGDOM AND EARLIER.—Some of the Art Institute vases were made between five and six thousand years ago. A common predynastic type is seen in 94.645, a tiny round-bottomed jar of white and black stone with two lugs pierced so that it may be suspended by cords. The small hemicylindrical lugs are bored from each end; and the wearing away of the borer itself has made the perforation resemble two truncated cones with their small ends together. A shallower porphyry vase of the early dynasties, 92.22, has more prominent lugs, parabolic in outline. It shows some defects, apparently due to the maker; but stone vessels were clearly too precious to be discarded for slight faults. In 94.256, of black granite, we meet a more elaborate lip and a *flat* base. Yet lugs for suspension persist here and, in fact, in a whole series of flat-bottomed jars. Barrel-shaped examples in hematite are 10.247, 94.468, and 94.472. The last of these, though only 1½ inches high, is nicely hollowed out, while grooves left by the boring are prominent in 10.247. This type persists through the Old Kingdom, where it is represented by 10.246 and 94.676, of dark mottled stones. The last named illustrates either

¹ E.g., Haskell Oriental Museum nos. 11406-53 plus 11485-87, from a II. Dynasty burial at Sakkara.

an unfinished vase or the survival of a form after its usefulness has ceased, for the lugs are left unperforated.

Of softer stones, "Egyptian alabaster" or aragonite is by far the commonest. The Art Institute possesses several exquisite vases of this material. Already in the I. Dynasty are found such forms as the open bowl 92.6, with its beautiful polish outside as well as near the lip within.



92.10

12.1219

92.14

No. 92.5 is deeper, and its material shows imperfectly crystallized patches. In 94.500 the top has been drawn in so that only the center is open. A taller vase of similar style is 92.10. In this appears the tiny beginning of a collar, which is more distinct in the squat bowl 92.17 and has become an independent element in the vase 10.250. Nos. 92.8 and 94.439 correspond in their forms to the two preceding, but the collar is now definitely set upon an incipient neck. Less well proportioned than 10.250 is the similar vase 12.1219. Yet similar traces of the grooves left by boring, intersected by vertical scratches due to the smoothing that followed, are found in both. The little jar 92.14 is an alabaster cousin to such hard-stone pieces as 10.247, but more squat and without lugs.

An early type of ointment vase has wrought into stone the cord which helped to fasten down the lid.¹ The alabaster 92.7 renders in detail the twisted string; in the fine-grained yellowish brown vase 19.200, the string is conventionalized as a mere ridge. Two other oil jars which lack it entirely are 10.248 and 94.463. The former is exquisitely carved

¹ Cf. the ointment jar depicted on stela 92.35.

n alabaster; the latter is of hard and highly polished hematite, with a lid of the same material. A flaring at the base is observable in the alabasters but especially prominent in the hematite.

A graceful Old Kingdom style is represented by the alabasters 94.433, 435, 437, and 625. Of these the first two are slender, tapering downward but cut square across the tip; the last two are rather ovoid, tapering



94.625

94.236

x.119

slightly yet rounded at the lower end. The four are alike, however, in shape of the neck: a concave ring set above a second in-curve which then flows out into the lines of the vase proper. The opaque jars 12.1220 and 94.236 suggest 94.433 without its concave ring at top. They show differing degrees of indentation below the lip. Another vase probably of the Old Kingdom is x.119, of buff stone mottled with a little black. It is roughly barrel-shaped with collar projecting a trifle beyond the contracted neck. The form is just irregular enough to prove that it could not have been finished on a lathe.

Flat lips raised on very short, straight necks occur on the globular vase 92.18 and its elongated companion 92.15.¹ Another round vase (92.11) has mouth and neck formed by an inset piece of especially translucent alabaster. The neck is cut concave, and ends without the usual

¹ For a similar, but larger, globular vase dated to the early VI. Dynasty see Reisner, *Early dynastic cemeteries of Naga-ed-Der*, vol. 1, pl. 73a, 3501, and p. 158. A VI. Dynasty vase with oval body is drawn in Petrie *et al.*, *Labyrinth, Gerzeh, and Mazghuneh*, pl. L 3; cf. p. 39-40.

projecting lip. But the top edge is just rough enough to suggest that an original lip, probably damaged, may have been removed by modern natives to make the vase more salable.



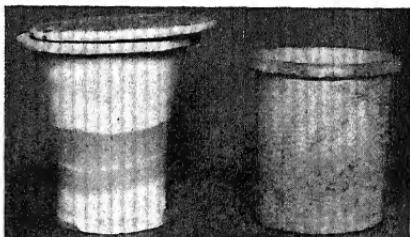
92.11



92.15

MIDDLE KINGDOM.—The oil jars of the XII. Dynasty are evidently derived from the earlier type described above. But while retaining the tapering sides and more or less flaring base, they are now usually cut thinner and the lip is squared off so that the cover rests flat upon it. Particularly handsome are 92.13 and 94.617, of translucent alabaster. No. 92.12, more squat, lacks its lid; while 94.1958 is a lid only. Of stones other than alabaster, we find blue marble used for 94.624 and hematite for 94.465.¹ An alabaster cup, 92.16, resembles the oil jars, but has straighter sides, a somewhat rounded lip, and a curving bottom inside.

Stone kohl jars,² small receptacles for the cosmetic affected by both men and women, regularly show a bulging shoulder, in-cut neck, and



¹ Lid is lacking.

² See p. 81 for glazed specimens.

flat lid. The earlier vases are sometimes carefully wrought with a separate, removable neck, facilitating excavation of the interior. Yet even in such cases the walls may be left almost as thick as the bore.

Jars of this class are shown in polished

hematite (94.467¹ and 94.471), serpentine (92.21),² and alabaster (94.661).³ The last, like some of those that follow, still shows black traces of its original contents. Other jars, less attractive but more usual in form, are made with neck and body in one piece, penetrated by a straight and very narrow bore. The foot inclines to spread a bit, so that lid, lip, shoulder, and base have approximately the same diameter. This type, surviving into the Empire, is seen in 94.429,³ 94.372,⁴ 94.662-64,⁵ and 94.616,⁴ all of alabaster except 94.372. Nos. 94.429 and 94.232 are lids of lacking jars.⁶

11.451



94.471

¹ The lid is too small; it may not belong to the jar.

² Neck and lid are lacking.

³ Lid of same no. does not fit jar as well as does lid marked 92.12.

⁴ Lid is lacking.

⁵ No lid is marked for 94.663, but lid now numbered 94.630 fits quite well.

⁶ Kohl jars and their lids were not always of the same material. Peet and Loat, *Cemeteries of Abydos*, pt. 3, pl. IV 12, publish an alabaster jar with serpentine lid.

An exquisite blue marble vase in the form of a swan (11.451) is a gift from the Egypt Exploration Society. Found during that body's excavations at Abydos, it is one of the few exhibits whose history is known.¹

EMPIRE AND LATER.—Distinctive forms are more frequent under the Empire. One alabaster dish (94.444) is in cartouche shape.² A spoon-shaped object (94.750) is pointed at one end and has a stepped handle of



94.750

11.452

94.991

obscure derivation at the other. A shallow circular bowl (94.991) has a flattish handle complexly pleasing in outline but likewise uncertain in meaning. Another alabaster bowl (11.452), mended and with one small piece lacking, is really circular in structure; but two pairs of swans' heads facing each other at opposite sides of the edge give an almost square effect to the top. Twin swans' heads encircle one end of 94.610, a shallow saucer of blackened steatite. Their bodies, in relief and partially covered with water waves, occupy the whole exterior.

Various types in the collection are represented by only one example. No. 94.385 (p. 96) is an attractive XVIII. Dynasty alabaster bowl with expanded base raised on a short foot.³ A mottled gray and brown stone vase with black veinings (94.461) has a small ring foot supporting a body expanded below but drawn in angularly at the neck. The lip is marked off into thirds by groups of four roughly parallel lines. Pottery vases furnish analogies for the shape of 94.430, ovoid below a gracefully incurved neck formed of a separate piece of alabaster. No. 94.631, with funnel-like neck and pointed bottom, parallels the glazed vase 94.451.

¹ Published by Peet, *ibid.*, pt. 2, pl. XIII 14 and p. 61. Though Peet dates it to the intermediate period between Middle Kingdom and Empire, blue marble is commonly of the XII. Dynasty (cf. Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, p. 42) and broken alabaster duck vases have been found in the tomb of Sesostris III (cf. Ayrton *et al.*, *Abydos*, pt. 3, pl. XXXIX-XL and p. 27 and 53).

² Cf. another XVIII. Dynasty example in Carnarvon, *Five years' explorations at Thebes*, pl. LXIX and p. 80.

³ A limestone and a serpentine bowl of similar style but less pleasing lines are published in Petrie *et al.*, *Labyrinth, Gerzeh, and Mazghuneh*, pl. XVI 3 and p. 27.

Beginning in the Empire and continuing through the Renaissance we find a new type of ointment bottle, the usual material of which has given it its common designation of "alabastron." A short, funnel-like neck rests on an elongated body with rounded bottom and equipped with lugs which regularly remain unperforated. The most pleasing proportions



94.385

94.461

94.430

94.631

are seen in 94.542 (alabaster) and 94.707 (gray granite), where the body expands noticeably from the shoulder down. Nos. 94.815 and 94.531 are slimmer. The curves of the former are less true, and it has a broader lip. The lugs of the latter are set above stone tabs in relief. The slimmest bottles, such as 94.677, with almost cylindrical body, are probably the

latest. The alabaster of that particular specimen has a bluish tinge and a pronounced parallel veining running crosswise of the vase for its whole length. The lip is apparently hexagonal instead of round; but its roughness in comparison to the quality of the rest of the work suggests that this is probably due to accident or to modern natives.

Two highly unusual shapes are 92.9 and 10.257, both of alabaster.

One is very small-mouthed, but grows larger from there down nearly to the base, where it is again drawn in slightly. The other is an oil jar



94.677

94.542

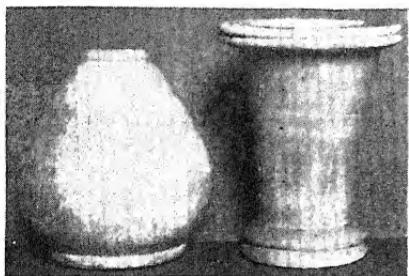
with double lip and double base. Its top and bottom planes are not parallel, though the vase is well rounded and smoothly finished.

Mortars like 10.249 are typical of the XXVI. Dynasty. The inside of the alabaster block is hollowed out in a deep curve, and two approximately triangular handles are left at opposite sides on the exterior. To

the same period or later belongs the large, highly polished alabaster jar 11.105, with its unperforated lugs and the Greek inscription $\Delta\text{IO}\xi\text{KOPON}$ between them.

A tantalizing specimen is 94.640, a little jar of alabaster evidently wrought wholly by hand. For its shape is uneven and the inside is merely dug out, leaving walls so thick that only at neck

and bottom is there any translucency. In form it is undercut below a flat, projecting lip, then tapers outward, and finally curves back into a flat bottom. The top of the lip is decorated with twenty-seven dotted circles incised in two irregular rows. Such circles were used in both the XII. Dynasty and Coptic times; but this work differs entirely from that of the Middle Kingdom as we have just seen it. Surely of the Coptic period, on the other hand, is the quadruple lamp 94.977 (p. 98), of steatite in the form of a four-pointed star. Horizontal lugs between the lamp points were pierced for iron supports, fragments of two of which still remain in place. The bottom bears a short inscription, perhaps in Cufic or old Syriac characters.



92.9

10.257



94.640

INLAY

A highly finished red jasper head (x.399) in delicate relief comes perhaps from some inlaid work of the XVIII. Dynasty.¹ The headdress or crown was evidently of a different stone.

¹ Cf. Haskell Oriental Museum 9807 and another piece published in Petrie, *Abydos*, pt. I, pl. LXI 7 and p. 31.

PALETTES AND MORTARS

Palettes for grinding cosmetic formed part of the burial equipment of the predynastic Egyptians. The style then in use was a thin slate slab, sometimes rectangular, sometimes diamond-shaped, and often in the form of a bird, a fish, or even a hippopotamus.¹ Tiny palettes for preparing ink or colors were needed too. They were made in flint, rectangular and beveled on the underside, as early at least as the V. Dynasty.² This class is represented by 94.689, of finely polished greenish yellow and black mottled stone, with an oval hollow in the top worn by use. A large, flat-surfaced slate palette of the same shape, found at el-Kab, belongs to the IV. Dynasty.³ Medium-sized palettes for paints or ink, having an incised oblong depression with rounded corners or ends, are found in the XII. Dynasty.⁴ To this group belong 94.668 and 94.976. The former is of hematite, with



94.977

the bottom of its recess very flat and regular, showing no sign of wear. As for the latter, apparently of blackened steatite, much softer, traces of red color remain in the worn surface of the depression and also on the rounded end of the rubbing stone which has survived with it.

In the Graeco-Roman period grinding was done on round mortars such as 94.460 (of slate). A narrow rim encircles a concave working surface; the foot below is very slight. The edge is quartered by four projecting lugs. No. 94.655 is a smaller example in hematite. A tiny mortar of blackened steatite (94.684) with four perforated lugs, has a deep, highly polished depression within a narrow rim. On its bottom

¹ Examples of the various sorts are to be seen in Haskell Oriental Museum at the University of Chicago.

² Cf. that of King Isesi published in Petrie, *History of Egypt*, vol. 1, p. 80, and another in Petrie, *Abydos*, pt. 2, pl. xiv 292 and p. 30.

³ Haskell Oriental Museum 1937.

⁴ Cf. Petrie, *Dendereh*, pl. xx (near bottom) and p. 26

is scratched an obscure Greek or Coptic inscription. The deep alabaster mortar 10.249 has been described with the vases above.

WEAPONS

The Late Stone Age in prehistoric Egypt has furnished the most exquisite known specimens of wrought flint. A knife-blade tip (94.774) and two spearheads (94.690-91) reveal the slow and delicate processes of pressure-flaking and refloating and grinding by which their finely serrated edges were attained.

From the beginning of the dynasties onward, Egyptian reliefs frequently show us the pharaoh smiting his enemy with a war club or mace. The shaft of such a weapon was of wood, which has usually perished; but a stone head like 94.871 (of diorite?) was much more durable.

A cylindrical fragment of basalt (94.667) is inscribed with the name of Seti I of the XIX. Dynasty. As his two cartouches are incompletely preserved at each end of the rod (though both breaks have since been smoothed off), its total original length is uncertain. A boring extends upward along the axis for almost an inch from the lower break. Can the piece have formed part of a scepter? Or may it have been a whip handle?

WEIGHTS¹

Egyptian weights belong to more than one standard, and show, moreover, a surprising range of variation in even those actually inscribed with their values. But from the artistic point of view our chief interest lies not in mass but in form. Oblong rectangular weights such as were common in the Old and Middle Kingdom do not occur. The domed weights which began to appear in the Empire are illustrated by 94.707, of gray granite.² Another polished granite piece (94.644), much larger, is flat on both top and bottom, with the edges somewhat rounded off. Slight holes at the center of each face would suggest that a lathe has been used; but the circumference is too

94.667



¹ For a good introduction and bibliography of this subject see Weigall, *Weights and balances* (in the Cairo Catalogue).

² The jar which bears this same number has been described on p. 96.

irregular for this. The basalt weight (?) 94.688 has flat surfaces and a convex circular rim. No. 94.674, of black granite, has a roundish base but an otherwise roughly cubical form which suggests as its date the Ptolemaic period.

RINGS AND SEALS

A carnelian ring (x.45), unfortunately fragmentary, is inscribed with the name *Neferkheprure-Wanre* of the great monotheist dreamer, Ikhnaton. Another ring of the same material (94.895) bears the symbol of *life*. The bezel of the blackened steatite ring 94.762 shows apes worshiping the Sun in his barque, with the sky-sign overhead.

VIII

METAL WORK

STATUETTES

Foremost in their appeal are the statuettes of Egyptian gods and goddesses, kings and priests, and sacred animals.

DEITIES.—In the early days of Egyptian history figures of deities in the round are quite rare. Only after the common man had begun, during the Empire, to feel a closer sense of relationship to his god do they come into use as votive offerings and amulets.¹ The period, then, to which the Art Institute group as a whole belongs is the first millennium B.C. and especially the centuries after 600 B.C. Most of the surviving metal statuettes are of bronze; those in precious metals have rarely escaped the melting-pot. Some of the bronzes are solid; others were cast very thin over an ash core in plaster molds.² Details were brought out by engraving and sometimes by inlays. Many of the Egyptian divinities are closely associated with animals, and combinations of human and animal forms are frequent. But with the help of the headdress the Egyptian artist in the round succeeded in his blending quite as well as did the painter or relief sculptor. The smaller figures are often provided with perforations or rings for suspension on the person as amulets, while the larger commonly end in dowels for anchoring them to a base.³ The original bases were rarely of metal; the common sort, made of wood, have mostly perished.

As was to be expected in a land so blest with sunshine as is Egypt, the sun god was a leading power in religion. He was thought of in many forms. In 94.261 the inscription inlaid in gold on the band of his kilt

¹ See Dr. Williams' remarks in the New York Historical Society's *Quarterly bulletin*, vol. 3, p. 41 ff.

² Dr. Williams has described a statuette still sheathed in its ancient mold, *ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 37.

³ But, as Dr. Williams remarks (*ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 48): "The line between votive statuette and amulet cannot be arbitrarily fixed on the basis of size and the absence or presence of a means of suspension. Some surprisingly large figures of gods were worn about the neck and some votive offerings were hung up."

tells us that we have *Re-Harakhte, chief of the gods*. He appears as a standing human figure with the hawk head of Horus.¹ His human wig and collar, like the inscription, are inlaid in gold, and his royal kilt was gilded. On top of the head is a hole into which a sun disk (now lost) was originally fitted. Each foot is provided with a dowel; but the original base is, as usual, missing. The left foot has been partly broken off and then repaired (anciently?) with a dovetail, which is itself now broken in two.

Of gods of the dead, 10.241 represents Anubis, jackal-headed. He stands on a small rectangular base, with the left foot advanced as usual. His right arm hangs at his side; his left hand is extended. He wears a wig, a broad collar, and the royal kilt.

The most prominent mortuary deity, Osiris, is seen in 12.1052, 92.130, and 94.721. The first is 12 inches high exclusive of the dowel which projects below its hollow rectangular base. The god is in his conventional mummy form. Around the base is a partly illegible inscription beseeching *Osiris Wennofer* to give life to the dedicator *Pediosiris, son of Pedi*¹—². In 92.130 Osiris is likewise in the stiff, conventional mummy posture. He wears his usual headdress, like the crown of the North (including uraeus) but flanked by ostrich feathers over horns, and carries his usual insignia, the crook staff and the ceremonial whip.² Details are carefully indicated. Even the tassel-shaped counterpoise of his broad collar is shown hanging down his back. Both workmanship and preservation are good. The third Osiris is a head only, broken off just under the chin. The crown is incomplete; rectangular slots, two in each side of the surviving central portion, served to attach the missing feathers of bronze. There is a dowel hole also for the lost beard. The head of the uraeus on the crown is gone. The metal shell has inlaid eyes outlined in blue glass; scattered traces of gold overlay remain on the surface.

¹ The term "Harakhte" is merely "Horus of the horizon" in its Egyptian form.

² On the meaning and history of this whip see Mace and Winlock, *Tomb of Senebtisi*, p. 94-102.



In the late period Osiris is sometimes, as in the seated figure 94.259, made into a moon god (Osiris-Yoh). He wears the usual royal uraeus, beard, and kilt. But his crown is highly elaborate. On his head rests a crescent supporting a full moon on which is incised the symbol of the sacred eye. Above the disk are horns, from which rises the usual Osiris crown. In this case it is surmounted by a sun disk and flanked by uraei who also wear sun disks on their heads. From the center of the crown projects an ibis head ordinarily symbolic of the moon god Thoth. An inscription around the base shows that this statuette is a votive offering in behalf of a man named *Pimu*.

Horus, the son of Osiris and Isis, was much worshiped in the later days in his form of Harpocrates.¹ No. 92.154 shows the nude child with his finger in his mouth and wearing the side lock emblematic of youth. On his head is the crown of the North,² appropriate because according to the Egyptian myth he was brought up by his bereaved mother, Isis, in the fastnesses of the Delta marshes. A pectoral, balanced by a counterpoise behind, hangs on a cord about his neck. The eyes are inlaid with gold. The dedicatory inscription on the base is for the benefit of a namesake of the god, a certain *Pediharpekhrod*.

Neit, goddess of the Delta city of Sais, is represented in 92.131, 94.263, and 94.354. In the first two she is standing, wearing the crown of the North³ and robed in a long, close-fitting dress. The scepter and staff which she held in her right and left hand respectively have disappeared. The eyes of 92.131 are inlaid in gold, and a broad collar is indicated at the throat. Around the base of 94.263 is a dedicatory inscription of the same form as those previously described. The third figure (94.354) is quite small, with an immense ring behind for suspension and a square dowel below as well. It pictures the goddess squatting in an elongated lotus blossom. As the myth would lead us to expect, the young sun god is a more usual occupant of the lotus.⁴

¹ *Harpocrates* is the way the Greeks represented the Egyptian phrase *Har-pe-khrod*, "Horus the child."

² The coiled-wire portion is lost.

³ The wire portion of the crown is lost. Cf. its complete form in Cairo 38953, published in Daressy, *Statues de divinités* (in the Cairo Catalogue), pl. XLVIII. Another complete example is Haskell Oriental Museum 11379.

⁴ E.g., the bronze figure Berlin 2409, illustrated in Erman, *Die ägyptische Religion*, 2d ed., p. 33.

Other Delta goddesses are Bastet of Bubastis and Uto of Buto.¹ These are often confused with each other and with Sekhmet ("the mighty one") of Memphis. Bastet is typified in the standing statuette 94.627. She is cat-headed; her human body is clothed in a long, close-fitting dress

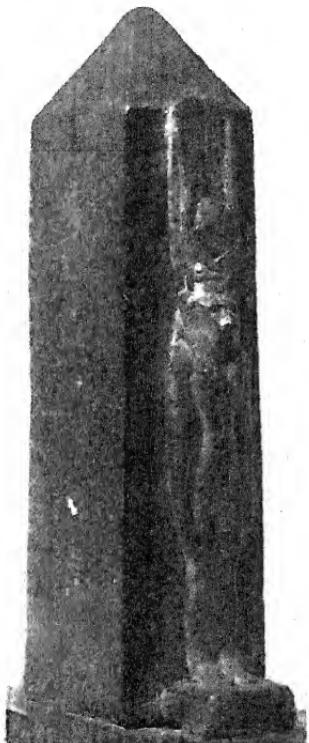
with a figured (embroidered?) pattern. Her right hand holds a sistrum, her left a head of Nefertem,² and a basket hangs on her left arm. Uto, as seen in 94.258, is lioness-headed. She stands in this instance upon a pedestal with her back against a hollow obelisk. Her headdress is a sun disk between long horns backed by tall feathers. Her arms hang close to her sides; her close-fitting dress reaches as usual to the ankles. The prayer on the pedestal, asking *Uto* to give life to *Ahmose* establishes the identity of both goddess and worshiper. Two seated figures (92.132 and 94.972) are probably of Sekhmet. She likewise has the head of a lioness, but crowned with sun disk and uraeus. On the pedestal of 92.132 is a partly illegible inscription in which the name of the deity addressed is doubtful. The larger Sekhmet (94.972) is uninscribed. It is cast hollow, and the back of the head and the bottom part of the low-backed chair are dented and broken. The sun disk and uraeus, too, have been broken off, but the tail of the uraeus is still to be seen lying on

the goddess' back hair. Instead of the close-fitting dress of 92.132, Sekhmet here wears a broad collar and the royal kilt. Her left arm is lost from above the elbow; only the end of the thumb still lies upon her thigh.

Ptah, the creator god of Memphis and consort of Sekhmet, appears in 92.152 and 10.240. The former is a tiny, uninscribed figure without a base. The latter is larger, with eyes inlaid in gold and around the base

¹ The city names are simply the Greek spellings of the Egyptian expressions "House of Bastet" and "House of Uto" respectively. In modern writings the goddess Uto is commonly called Buto like her city.

² See p. 129.



94.258

a dedicatory inscription by a certain *Khonsirdis*. Both show the god in his conventional form, shaven-headed, swathed like a mummy but with hands exposed grasping a scepter. He wears a heavy royal beard and a broad collar with its counterpoise hanging down behind. The expression of 10.240 is unusually pleasant; one can almost call it a smile.

No. 94.260 represents Sebek, the crocodile-headed god of the Faiyum. He wears a crown like that of Osiris in 92.130, of reeds adorned with horns and feathers and uraeus, and the royal kilt. Both arms hang straight at his sides. The statuette is much weathered; no inscription is visible on the base.

A standing figure of electrum (94.272) portrays Harsaphes of Heracleopolis (modern Ehnasia). His crown is of three bundles of reeds set over horns, each bundle covered below by a sun disk. A ring was provided at top, but, though its perforation was begun from each side, it was never finished. The legs are broken off.

Min of Koptos is shown in 94.262 in his crude ithyphallic form which had been sanctified by thousands of years. Two tall, straight feathers with a sun disk at their base compose his crown. In his raised right hand he holds a ceremonial whip. He wears a broad collar. A raised band which in our example follows the contour of the body down the back may represent the supporting pillar used with larger statues in stone.

Set, the mythical opponent of Osiris and Horus, was the patron deity of ancient Ombos (opposite modern Kus). No. 93.26 shows him with his peculiar animal head set on a standing human body. He has no headdress, and any traces of garments are lost in the powdery surface. His right arm hangs straight; with the flexed left arm he holds a scepter to his shoulder. Both a ring and a dowel are provided for the support of this small figure.

The goddess Mut, Amon's consort at Thebes, is seen in 92.151 standing rigidly erect in her long, close-fitting dress and broad collar. On her



94.272

head is the double crown (those of South and North combined into one) with uraeus. Her arms hang straight, hands clasping thighs. Another Southern goddess, perhaps Nekhbet of Hierakonpolis (opposite el-Kab), appears in the tiny figure 93.27. Her crown, of reeds and feathers, is accompanied by a uraeus as usual. She stands on a thin metal base.

Veneration of wisdom resulted in at least two cases in Egypt in the deification of great men of the past. Imhotep, who had been the prime minister, chief architect, and chief lector priest of old King Zoser of the III. Dynasty, enjoyed especial repute and was ultimately transformed into a son of Ptah. Nos. 92.160 and 10.242 both represent him seated in unidealized human form and without any emblems of divinity. His head is shaven, indicating his priestly function; the strongly marked ridge across the forehead may denote the hair line rather than a skull cap. A pleated kilt falls to his ankles. His feet are sometimes shown bare, sometimes protected with sandals. The broad collar indicated on 10.242 has ends (crossed behind) in the form of papyrus blossoms. Imhotep holds upon his lap a papyrus manuscript book representing the wisdom of which he was the accredited author. In both cases the flat surface of the open roll is inscribed. The words of 10.242 are totally illegible. One would like to think that they form the prayer with which Egyptian scribes customarily besought this god's inspiration: *The water from the bowl of every scribe be poured as libation to thee.* The other roll says only *Imhotep of Memphis.*^{1x}

MORTALS.—Votive offerings occasionally represented the worshiper himself. Thus 93.22 is a kneeling king. The figure of 94.264 wears a short wig and a long robe reaching to the ankles. On the palm of his left hand rests a rudely shaped offering table. With his right hand he pours a libation from a situla.²

With the sphinx 94.257 we are partially carried over to the animal world; but its human head entitles it to a place in this section. The combination of king's head with lion's body, symbolizing the pharaoh's power, is a familiar transference of a figure of speech into sculpture. The crown has been lost; but the pose of the animal form itself is regal. In front of the forepaws two uraei rear their heads; their bodies trail along the top of the divine standard which serves as base.

^{1x} More usual is the simple designation *Imhotep, son of Ptah.*

² The situla, too, is crude. The crosswise perforation at its mouth presumably indicates the rings for attaching the bail. Cf. the actual situlae described below.

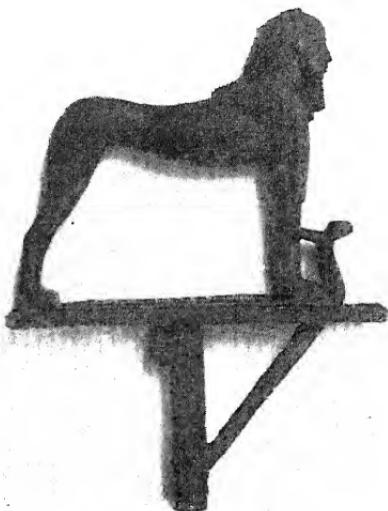
ANIMALS.—Animal worship in its extreme form, holding sacred all creatures of certain species, was a decadent phase of religion in the latest stages of Egyptian history. In early days sanctity had been attached to certain individual creatures only. Most prominent at all periods was the Apis bull of Memphis. He regularly wears on his head the sun disk with uraeus. As described by Herodotus¹ he was distinguished by a square white patch on his forehead, something like an eagle on his back, double hairs in his tail, and a scarab design on his tongue. Actually the marks borne by the bronzes 93.18, 94.986, 92.155, and 94.376 differ both from the above and also among themselves. The first, standing on a thick, solid base, shows a triangle with point down on forehead, trappings on neck and back, a winged scarab over the fore and a vulture over the hind quarters. The second, on a thin base, lacks a necklace, and the scarab and vulture have exchanged places. The last two are smaller; 92.155 shows more pronounced relief, while 94.376 is crudely made without indication of the trappings and insignia.

A recumbent jackal (20.252) splendidly modeled represents Anubis. The squatting ape of 92.153 is to be identified with Thoth. He wears on his head the crescent and full moon. The various cats (93.24, 92.161, 94.987) were associated with Bastet. The first two wear collars on their necks; the last wears a necklace and has her ears pierced. Cats' heads in bronze, such as 94.544 and 94.973, probably belonged to lost wooden bodies.² The latter of these has a scarab in relief on top. A large bronze ibis head³ (94.720), with two dowels for attaching, will have formed part of a statue of Thoth. The tip of the beak is gone and the left eye has been lost; but the other shows that the eyes were of rock crystal inlaid in

¹ iii. 28.

² So Erman in the Berlin *Verzeichnis*, p. 301.

³ A similar ibis head, published in Ayrton *et al.*, *Abydos*, pt. 3, pl. xxi 3 and p. 51, "belongs probably to the XXIInd Dynasty."



94.257

sockets of gold. Fishes of various kinds occur in 94.730-32 and 93.17. Scales are most carefully indicated on 94.732.¹ The little bronze frog 93.23 is connected with Heket, a goddess of birth.

Horus in hawk form, wearing the double crown of South and North, appears in 94.223 and 94.545 mounted on a case (now empty) which probably once contained the mummied body of some sacred or magically



20.252

potent creature. Three other cases which must have contained mummied serpents are 93.19, 92.159, and 93.25. On them are cobras in bronze, reared up, coiled in a figure 8, and extended like a ribbon on edge, respectively. The first two are inscribed with a prayer to Atum; the last, uninscribed, is human-headed and wears the double crown flanked by feathers, the uraeus, and royal beard.²

WEAPONS

From the I. Dynasty a considerable quantity of arrow points in flint, ivory, and even quartz crystal has come down to us. But of course metal gradually came into use for arrows as well as other weapons. The fifteen double-barbed arrowheads included under 94.499 represent a

¹ Some of these may also be of the XXII. Dynasty; for Ayrton *et al.*, *ibid.*, pl. xxi 4 and p. 51, show "three solid bronze fishes of the same date" as the ibis head.

² Daressy, *op. cit.* (in the Cairo Catalogue), nos. 38702-4, makes the natural assumption that the serpents on these cases represent Atum, since he is the deity addressed in the inscriptions. But Petrie, *Amulets*, p. 26, claims "as Atmu never appears elsewhere as a serpent, the god is probably only invoked for the fever."

type which was common at Abydos in the XIX. Dynasty.¹ A fishhook of the same period (94.782), likewise of bronze, has one barb. Its eye is formed, as in the earliest bronze needles, by coiling an attenuated end.²

TOOLS AND TOILET INSTRUMENTS

The knife 94.675, with a convex blade at one end and another edge on the curve of the butt, was perhaps used for cutting cloth before the invention of shears and scissors.³ Nos. 94.988-89 and 94.963 were apparently curling-“irons” of bronze.⁴

The two parts were riveted together. The opposite end of one section was formed into a knife for cutting stray locks. This knife section is sometimes highly ornate. Thus 94.963 represents a much conventionalized horse. His hind legs, stretched rearward, blend into a band of papyrus sepals terminated by the rounded cutting edge. Tweezers for removing superfluous hairs (94.767-68) are bent out of one piece, with prongs broadened and flat. Bronze kohl sticks (94.541) were used for applying cosmetics. Two of the group have a slightly bulbous end; the third is squared. Egyptian mirrors are typified in 94.725. It consists of a disk of polished bronze set into a handle which is commonly, as here, modeled after a papyrus stalk and blossom. A cow-eared Hathor head sometimes comes between, and again the stalk is replaced by the figure of a girl. Ivory handles also occur.⁵

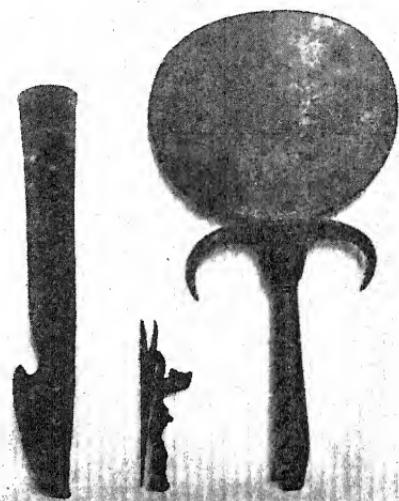
¹ Cf. Petrie, *Abydos*, pt. I, pl. LII and p. 25. The provenience of the Art Institute specimens is uncertain.

² For similar XVIII.-XIX. Dynasty hooks from Gurob see Petrie, *Tools and weapons*, pl. XLIV, nos. V 71-78, and p. 37.

³ So Petrie, *Tools and weapons*, pl. LXIII and p. 51. A similar knife, still polished and sharp, dating from the XVIII. Dynasty or just before, is published in Carnarvon and Carter, *Five years' explorations at Thebes*, pl. LXV and p. 72.

⁴ So Petrie, *Tools and weapons*, pl. LXI and p. 48-49.

⁵ Examples of these variations are to be seen in Haskell Oriental Museum at the University of Chicago.



94.675

94.963

94.725

DECORATION

In connection with glazed inlays such as have been referred to in chap. vi, such a piece of bronze as 93.21 may also have helped to decorate a wall surface. It is cast in the form of half of a blue lotus blossom, with its flat back perforated at the upper corners for attachment. The front is recessed for inlaying the separate sepals and petals and is perforated for fastenings. Parts of the paste inlays in blue and green are still in place. Complete lotus blossoms showing this same technique occur in the head-dress of large bronze figures of Nefertem.¹

VASES

The Empire is perhaps represented in the slender bronze vase 92.19. It is encircled by incised line decoration near lip, shoulder,

and pointed bottom. Two vessels of the sort used for pouring libations in



92.19

temples (94.474 and 92.20) belong rather to the Renaissance or later. The former ends in a knob below. Its surface is smooth, except that a band at the top bears a votive prayer to *Isis* in behalf of *Pediese, son of Pedihor*. The other, uninscribed, is made to represent a lotus blossom below a band of relief decoration which shows the king, accompanied by *Hathor*, standing before *Min*. The two ears at the top of each situla served to attach a recurved bail such as is shown with 94.474.



92.20

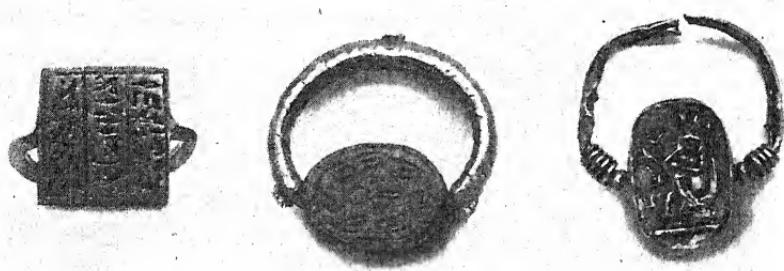
94.474

¹ E.g., Cairo 38076-78 (in Daressy, *op. cit.*).

Two Coptic lamps (94.635 and 94.649) have crosses surmounting their handles. The one lamp is flat-bottomed; the other stands on a ring foot, and its hole for filling is protected by a hinged cover.

JEWELRY

Of the metal finger rings in the collection, the bronze 94.370¹ bears on its bezel the name *Nibmare*, i.e., Amenhotep III of the XVIII. Dynasty. His son Ikhnaton, *Neferkheprure-Wanre*, is named on 94.1926 and



94.265

92.25

94.960

apparently also on the much corroded x.398. Of the same period is the heavy electrum ring 94.370. Its bezel, set in electrum, is a white-glazed scarab with a Hathor head incised on its face.¹ The iron(?) ring 94.1927 is surely of the XIX. Dynasty, though one hesitates to read the name on its bezel. Other types of gold rings are 92.25 and 94.960. The former is spirally wound with a strip of gold leaf and set with a green jasper scarab in a swivel mounting. The scarab bears the sign of *life* within a decorative border. The other is of gold wire with a swivel bezel in the form of a hollow gold plaque. This shows on one side Isis holding Horus in her lap, on the other the name and title of the owner, *the priest of Toëris, Harkheb*. A ring of electrum or silver (x.9) has for bezel a similarly mounted rectangular block of carnelian. The openwork gold ring 92.26 is decorated with jointed serpents. Flattened spaces above and below its center bear traces suggestive of Greek characters. Another finger ring (94.265) has a square bezel of beaten gold bearing an obscure three-column hieroglyphic inscription.

¹ The ring has broken away at both ends from the scarab mounting. A scrap from one break was analyzed for the writer by Dr. Terry-McCoy, of the University of Chicago, in 1916. It is of gold, with some silver but no iron, copper, tin, or antimony.

Earrings were often made with highly elaborate pendants. In the pair 92.24 a lapis lazuli disk, set in gold, surmounts a ball covered with rather thick gold leaf. Nos. 94.956 and 94.483-84 are Hellenistic in type. One end is an animal's head;^x the coiled wire of the ring proper tapers at the other end into the semblance of a tail which enters the creature's mouth to form the clasp.

Two bronze bracelets (94.718), terminating at each end in dogs' heads, were perhaps part of the trappings of some divine statue. Fifteen gold links (94.955) cast in the form of double ducks, joined by loops of gold wire soldered on their backs, probably belonged to a bracelet of some queen or princess.

A flying bird in hollow gold (94.958), made in two halves soldered together and now open at the back, must have been a bit of applied ornamentation. The legs are absent. Wings and body are delicately chased.

The only chain shown (94.266) is of braided gold wire. Its sliding pendant is set with turquoise, and a garnet forms the center of the rosette at its clasp.

^x The head may be that of a dolphin, an antelope, a lion, etc

IX

BEADS¹

Beads as ornaments were esteemed by the Egyptians already in predynastic times, and all periods from then on have contributed to present-day collections. But as the threads upon which they were strung were far more perishable than the beads themselves, their original arrangement, except in carefully conducted excavations of undisturbed burials, is commonly lost. So the assembling of all the Art Institute beads is modern. The earliest beads were made chiefly of glaze, shell, and semi-precious stones, especially carnelian.² These materials prevailed until with the Empire glass appeared and steadily increased in popularity.

STONE BEADS.—Carnelian is extremely common in the XII. Dynasty, to which most of the carnelian beads in our collection probably belong. The workmanship of that period is good; the tiny balls 92.163 are especially pleasing. Like the barrel shapes 92.235-36, the bore is comparatively small and the surface regular and well polished. In the barrel type the surface tapers to a thin edge at the ends of the bore. The large balls 94.564, of poorer quality, are perhaps later. More surely of the Middle Kingdom again are the small balls 94.565 with minute bores, 94.566 with bores somewhat larger, and 94.567 with a cuplike depression at each end of the bore. Similar to these last, but in the form of rings rather than balls, is the group 94.568. In 94.569 we have again a minute bore in an incipient barrel form. One large carnelian ball, 92.23, with a cap of sheet gold at top and bottom and a gold ring for suspension, is girdled by the incised cartouche of a XII. Dynasty *Amenemhet*. This occurs again on a ball bead of steatite (94.1285).

The XII. Dynasty is represented also by stone beads of other sorts. Among them are small beads of garnet (94.570) and amethyst (94.571), and larger balls and barrel shapes of amethyst (94.572) and moss agate

¹ This chapter in particular owes much to Dr. Caroline Ransom Williams, who has generously examined the bead collection with the author.

² Randall-MacIver and Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos*, p. 48.

(94.573).¹ Here belong, too, a crudely flattened sphere of turquoise with tapering bore (94.574), a trio of garnet balls and barrel (94.575), and a string of polished hematite barrel beads in graduated sizes (94.576) with the ends of many bores flattened by long wear. These Middle Kingdom beads were worn not only in necklaces, bracelets, and anklets, but even in strings about the waist.² Nos. 94.577-80 and 94.1109 are porphyritic, composed probably of opal embedded in basalt. Pendants of this material are found as early as the II. Dynasty.³ It occurs in the drop form in graves representing Nubian culture of the Middle Kingdom period,⁴ and in barrel shapes during the Empire.⁵ The blue-glazed steatite (?) barrels 94.581 are of the XII. Dynasty or later.

A pair of large amethyst (?) balls (94.582), glassy-looking but too hard for glass, may carry us down to the Empire. Carnelian pendants analogous to those of 94.583 occur in the XVIII.-XIX. Dynasty,⁶ whether the double balls, their present comrades, belong with them is uncertain. The chalcedony beads 94.584 (and 94.585 ?) show varying elongations of the barrel type, but now with flattened ends; the onyx and agate markings are especially attractive in 94.584. To later dynasties belong such huge-bored carnelian barrel beads as 94.586. The rudely ground (though small-bored) amethyst barrels could scarcely have been made before the XXI. Dynasty.

Of the late Roman or even Arabic period are the misshapen, crudely bored crystal beads 94.589. They suggest a similar date for the amethyst 94.588. Faceted hexagonal beads like 94.590 in lapis lazuli and 94.591 in carnelian are Roman at the earliest, and may well be Coptic.

¹ Amethyst beads are especially characteristic of the XII. Dynasty. As Petrie says (*Diospolis Parva*, p. 42): "A few are known in prehistoric times, and occasionally an amulet, a scarab, or a bead may be of the Old Kingdom or XVIIIth Dynasties; but no string of amethyst beads is known outside of the XIIth Dynasty, until the very different style of the Roman times."

² Quibell, *El Kab*, p. 15.

³ Cf. Reisner, *Early dynastic cemeteries of Naga-ed-Der*, vol. 1, pl. 73c, no. 3061, and p. 85-86 and 118. "The bones [of burial N. 3061] were those of a young adult female."

⁴ Firth, *Archaeological survey of Nubia: report for 1909-1910*, p. 109 and pl. 37e, no. 2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 153; also in the *Report for 1908-1909*, pl. 55, no. 9.

⁶ Cf. *Musée égyptien*, vol. 2, pl. 111; also *Ancient Egypt*, 1914, front. and p. 4. Petrie, *Amulets*, no. 271, speaks of this type as "seed vessels." Dr. Williams sees in them inverted corn flowers.

GLAZED BEADS.—The technique of glazing was understood and used, though largely over stone, already at the beginning of the dynasties. Even at that early date a frit made of sand and soda, unfused, was coming into use as a substitute for the stone core. It appears in the small pre-dynastic ring beads H.5907. This glazed frit of Egypt is conveniently, though inexactly, called fayence. The next earliest "fayence" beads in the Art Institute are strings of large blue-green balls (94.594) and of smaller balls in light (94.595) and medium (94.596) shades of blue. These are of the XII. to XVIII. Dynasty; while 94.597, with a greenish cast, is rather of the XIX. Lobed balls, the so-called "melon" beads, begin to appear in the dark interval before the Empire.¹ Our string 94.1994 may contain specimens from the XVII. to XIX. Dynasty. The bead 94.598, adorned with black eyes under the glaze, reminds one of the large hollow balls in which XVIII. Dynasty necklaces often end, perforated at diametrically opposite points and decorated with alternate segments of blue and of purplish black (94.611, 650-51, 681).² The flattish red and blue beads of 94.599, with their huge bores, are of the XVIII. Dynasty or later. The white glaze of 94.726 suggests the same period. Here, too, belong the sharp-edged, blue glazed disks of assorted sizes (94.727, 865, 877, 881) and probably the flat blue beads 94.1107 and purple disks 94.1108 as well. Strings made up largely or wholly of amuletic scarabs³ or even of uninscribed scaraboids (94.1110-11) are likewise found under the Empire. No. 94.1112 consists of two pendants from such a collar as is seen rudely painted on the ushebtu of Mayat (94.1149).⁴ Two XVIII. Dynasty pendants (94.969) in bright blue glaze represent blue lotus blossoms. They are noticeably flattened so as to hang the more gracefully. Two

¹ In Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, pl. xxvi, group W. 72, such beads are assigned to the XII. Dynasty. Garstang, *El Arábah*, p. 30, takes the same view. Two strings of beads from the latter's excavations, now in the University of Chicago collections (Haskell Oriental Museum 6753-)54, contain blue glazed "melons" which his label dates "about XIV. Dynasty." Others of perhaps the XVII. Dynasty are illustrated in Carnarvon, *Five years' exploration at Thebes*, pl. LXXXIII 13.

² Cf. Naville and Hall, *XI. Dynasty temple at Deir el-Bahari*, pt. 3, p. 17.

³ E.g., Carnarvon, *op. cit.*, p. 81, no. 59 (a).

⁴ A fine Middle Kingdom collar of this type is shown in color in Mace and Winlock, *Tomb of Senenbisi*, pl. xxv. Dr. Williams suggests that the petal-like pendants are derived from the green beetle form seen in the Old Kingdom collar of Imthepy (Boston Museum of Fine Arts *Bulletin*, vol. 11, p. 60) and used as an amulet already in predynastic times (as shown by Petrie, *Amulets*, no. 261, and *Abydos*, pt. 2, pl. XIV 282 and p. 30).

conical purple pendants (x.217) may have come from a ceremonial whip. Still another pendant (x.209), in dark blue with yellow points below and a ring where the stem would be, is, except for color, modeled on a pomegranate. The long cylinders 94.1113-17, in sundry shades of blue and purple, were often worn in chains spaced by balls or disks.¹ An apple-green bead (94.1118) with dark-blue glaze inlay imitates a jar suspended in a cord net.

The Decadence is represented by purple "melons" (94.1119). So-called "mummy nets" (x.42, 94.968) now come into use, made of blue glazed cylinders less than an inch long, threaded in an open diamond pattern with tiny ring beads in blue or yellow at the crossings, and laid upon the body outside of its wrappings.² To these nets may be sewed such magic figures as the scarab with separate wings or the Horus-sons (94.968; one Horus-son lacking). During the XXIII.-XXV. Dynasty³ another stage is noticeable: a tapestry-like mask, winged beetle, and collar, all made of tiny ring beads, are set into the upper portion of the net (94.967). In our mask the eyes are in black and yellow; the nose, mouth, and chin are red; and the rest of the face shows the deep blue of lapis lazuli. The scarab is exceedingly conventionalized. The collar design displays pendent blue lotuses. Returning to ball beads, the very glossy ones, 94.1120 in purplish black, and especially 94.1121 in dark blue-green, may belong to the Saitic Age (XXVI. Dynasty ff.).

SHELL BEADS.—Shell and ivory occasionally supplemented other materials for beads and pendants. Shell was especially common in the Middle Kingdom and in the succeeding dark age that preceded the Empire. The string H.5494 of tiny cut rings accompanied by one complete shell belongs about the XIV. Dynasty.

GLASS BEADS.⁴—Though glazing had been practiced since the beginning of the dynasties, glass other than in the form of glaze is almost unknown until the Empire.⁵ The earliest known glass bead which carries

¹ As in Carnarvon, *op. cit.*, pl. LXXXIII 31, dated by a scarab of Thutmosis I. A chain of disks alone, dated to the same reign, is shown, *ibid.*, pl. LXXXIII 59.

² A Ptolemaic shroud (described on p. 17) has the net merely painted on the linen.

³ Petrie and Mackay, *Heliopolis, Kafir Ammar, and Shurafa*, pl. XXXII and p. 36.

⁴ The most detailed study of glass beads has been made by Dr. Gustavus Eisen, whose three articles in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, 2d ser., vol. 20 (1916), have contributed largely to the following account.

⁵ Glass has been found, of course, in disturbed burials of earlier date, into which it has accidentally dropped. There are also a few perplexing instances of glass in apparently

its own evidence of date is a barrel-shaped blue bead from Abydos with the cartouche of King *Zeserkere* (Amenhotep I, early XVIII. Dynasty) on its side.¹

A blue ball, 94.2010, seems to show blow holes, like the earliest glass produced. The ring beads of 94.2011 include some XVIII. Dynasty ones consisting of a coiled thread of clear blue glass with its ends imperfectly joined. The tiny, irregularly flattened barrel beads 94.2012 may be pale imitations of garnet. Their small bores suggest an Empire date, belied, however, by their shapelessness. A gray-blue sliver of glass stock (97.287) with irregular facets may also be of the Empire.

Opaque glass is very prevalent. Eye spots are a common form of decoration, beginning with the XIX. Dynasty. In 94.1122 the eyes are simple dots of red and blue alternating, dropped on a white glass matrix and rolled in. In the pendant of 94.1123 three strata, black and white alternately, have been rolled in, forming an eye with rings. The orange matrix, like the other beads of the string, seems to imitate amber. No. 94.1124 illustrates the same sort of stratified eyes, but with additional decoration in the shape of inlaid coils of twisted blue and white or black and white threads. The orange barrel bead 94.1125 is girdled by a twisted coil, while its "eye spots" are rather commas made by loosely coiling a black thread and rolling it into a drop of white glass. In the XX.-XXIII. Dynasty appear ball beads with stratified eyes of deep blue over white with hair lines of brown, in which the eyes are so compactly grouped that very little of the green or blue matrix is visible (94.1126-29). Indeed, such stratified shields are sometimes fused together to form the complete bead without any separate matrix.

undisturbed pre-Empire graves. These latter include a dark-blue glass Hathor head "badly impressed in a mould," found by Petrie in a predynastic burial (*Nagada*, pl. LXIV 94 and p. 48). A "necklace of green and blue and yellow glass beads" was found by Randall-MacIver and Mace in grave φ 44 at Abydos (*El Amrah and Abydos*, p. 54). "This was a shallow round grave of typical early prehistoric kind. There was no suspicion of any mixture with a later period, nor were there any graves of other date in the immediate vicinity." Again, glass eye beads were found in two XII. Dynasty graves at Abydos (Peet, *Cemeteries of Abydos*, pt. 2, p. 48). Newberry in *Journal of Egyptian archaeology*, vol. 6 (1920), p. 159, to which Dr. Williams has called the writer's attention, cites as additional instances of early glass I. Dynasty inlays and plaques from Abydos and two XII. Dynasty mosaics. One of the latter is a rod, now in Berlin, giving the cartouches of Amenemhet III, which both Newberry and the Berlin authorities believe to be contemporary.

¹ Randall-MacIver and Mace, *op. cit.*, p. 75 and pl. LIII.

Beads are found of dragged mosaic glass also, beginning in the late XVIII. Dynasty. This technique, as shown in 94.1999, consists in winding a spiral of one color around a hot core of another color. Then, before the mass can cool, the thread is raked by a metal point, producing arcades, festoons, waves, zigzags, etc. In our example a foliate pattern was produced by raking alternately up and down. The design was enriched by previously coiling rings of pale blue around the ends and center; these were raked with the yellow spiral into the dark-blue matrix. Later work is evident in 94.2000, in which only one bead of the lot has been raked into a foliate pattern, while the rest still show simply the white spiral over a dark ground.¹ No. 94.1976 contains monochrome blue beads of a similar quasi-barrel shape.

To the fifth century B.C. or later belong the white-glass cylinder beads 94.2001, adorned at ends and middle with twisted coils, between which project rows of massive stratified eyes. By the Ptolemaic period stratified glass itself, formed by fusing superimposed sheets of glass, appears and takes its place in bead-making. It may be simply rolled up into a cylindrical bead with roughly parallel stripes and a noticeable seam of juncture (94.2002). Or a strip of stratified glass may be doubled endwise and form various diamond- or egg-shaped patterns as in 94.2003. Again, strips cut diagonally may be packed around a core (so 94.2004). Combinations of stratified and columnar mosaic (millefiori) are seen in 94.2005-6. These latter nos. 94.2003-6 are Roman at the earliest. Stock from which beads might be made is represented in the block x.2 and cylinders x.3-4 of stratified mosaic glass. A dark-blue bead of the reign of Augustus (94.2007) has eyes made of inset slices of columnar mosaic. This easier and cheaper process had speedily done away with the use of individually stratified eyes.

Roman glass imitations of stone beads are common. A stratified mosaic represents onyx or agate, as in 94.1977. The plain blue balls 94.1978 are imitations of lapis lazuli. Other dark-blue Roman glass is seen in 94.1979-81, hexagonal, spirally grooved, and lobed respectively. Opaque blue and white mosaic beads of the first to second century after Christ occur as double balls (94.1973). Even as many as six segments

¹ Cylindrical beads with a raked pattern occur in a necklace as late as the fourth century A.D. according to Petrie, *Nebesheh (Am)* and *Defenneh (Tahpanhes)*, pl. viii and p. 24.

in a single bead appear in 94.1972, whose beads are of gold leaf fused between layers of clear glass. Nos. 94.1961-71 are of a type dated to the second century. They consist mostly of green or brown and yellow mosaic, frequently with a coil of yellow glass around the top to represent a gold cap. Similar in shape to most of the preceding group are the blackish monochrome beads 94.1974-75, which have a dull wine-colored or bluish translucence respectively. No. 94.1982 resembles 94.1974, but its cruder shapes suggest a later date. Mosaic glass of the second century or later is worked out in attractive plaids in 94.1983, one bead of which shows the rough original surface before grinding.

Roman beads of incrusted mosaic are common, made of fragments of colored glass rolled hit or miss into a plain matrix (usually black). Nos. 94.1995-96 are attractively mottled with tiny bits of red and white finely smoothed, while 94.1989 has a blue matrix sprinkled with yellow, white, and red. A thick ring (x.11) of approximately semicircular cross-section shows big drops of white, red, light blue, green, and yellow rolled into a translucent dull-blue matrix full of blow holes. The matrix itself apparently contains thin layers of dark red, one of which forms most of the inner surface of the ring. The inlays in 94.1990-91 and 1993 are coarse; of this sort even crude melon forms occur (94.1988). The surfaces in 94.1991 are not well smoothed, though in two strings of larger beads (94.1986-87) coarseness of workmanship is much more evident. The same sort of black glass matrix is used also to receive eyes made of cut-off rods (94.1992) after the fashion of 94.2007 above; in 94.2009, of the third to fourth century, these eyes project as irregular knobs.

In the fourth century after Christ, and beginning perhaps as early as the second, are found such millefiori types as those of 94.1984. Besides hexagonal and ball beads, so-called "button beads" occur. That in 94.1984 has a large central hole; but a more usual type is seen in 94.1985, circular, plano-convex, and solid. The bead, as actually worn, consisted of two similar pieces cemented back to back. In stringing, the thread passed around a groove left by the cement, which did not extend quite to the edge of the glass.

The hexagonal green fragment 94.1998 may be Coptic. Certainly so are the crude, translucent-green melon beads 94.1997 accompanied by three Coptic crosses of the same fabric.

A charming bit of mosaic which is not a bead is the female head 94.783. It is of thin glass uneven but highly polished on one side, while the other side is flat but dull. Set in especially translucent blue is half of a face. Headdress and mouth are red, flesh and fillet are white, and the eye is blue. The bisecting edge is so true and smooth as to suggest that the original design is complete.



94.783

X

AMULETS

In bead necklaces, nets, etc., as actually worn by the ancient Egyptians,¹ occur many pendants which are not particularly ornamental nor directly useful and whose presence must therefore be explained on other grounds. Such objects, together with similar ones found on or among mummy wrappings, were clearly of some magical value, and are therefore classed as amulets. The fundamental principle involved seems to be that of so-called "sympathetic magic," the idea that like influences like. As outlined by Petrie,² this expressed itself in Egypt in five general directions. One finds:

1. Amulets of *similar*s. To this most primitive type belong models of parts of the body, supposed to aid in the functioning of those parts during life, and especially to insure performance of such functions by the body in the next world. With these are grouped models derived from plants or animals particularly notable for certain desirable qualities: flourishing growth, speed, etc. Objects of a third sort, detached and thus rendered innocuous, are thought to prevent harm from dangerous similars. Thus in Central Africa today possession of a leopard's claw is supposed to protect from wild beasts; and in Roman times Pliny states that a human tooth was efficacious against toothache, a wolf's tooth aided dentition, etc.

2. Amulets of *powers*. The effect of this group is produced not by direct likenesses but by symbolism. Models of hieroglyphs symbolizing abstract qualities and of royal and divine insignia and equipment are included here.

3. Amulets of *property*. Actual food, drink, clothing, and other equipment had in early times been provided for the Egyptian dead. The actual objects were replaced more and more by representations sculptured or painted on the tomb walls,³ by full-sized models, and by miniature

¹ Cf. early instances in undisturbed burials described by Garstang, *Mahasna and Bet Khallaf*, p. 29-31, with references to plates.

² *Amulets* (London, 1914), fully illustrated.

³ Cf. chap. ii.

models or amulets. Some of these miniatures occur even as early as the predynastic period.

4. *Protective* amulets. These somewhat indirect appeals to deities or to less clearly conceived spirits may either be in the form of religious symbols or consist of any humble object indicated by circumstances. Many animal and vegetable materials used in this way have been too perishable to survive, and the significance of some others has doubtless remained unrecognized. Inscribed charms, too, are very numerous. The mass of scarabs treated separately in chap. xi would fall largely under this head.

5. Amulets of *gods*. These, like amulets of property, are miniatures. Imposing statues of the pharaoh and of the great gods of the state might dwell in vast Egyptian temples; but the abundance of intimate amuletic figures of deities and of the animals associated with them reveals more clearly the trend of religious sentiment among the people.

Amulets are usually perforated or provided with rings so that they may be worn on necklaces, etc., or sewed to the mummy wrappings. In the following account of individual varieties, most of the exceptions to this principle have been noted.

Some amulet types occur even before the dynasties, and many kinds are found in the Old Kingdom and on through the Empire.¹ But the Renaissance and the Ptolemaic period are much more prolific. It is to be noted, too, that the earlier varieties differ largely from the later. What kinds of amulets were used together is known in comparatively few instances. Their relative position in use has been observed still more rarely.²

AMULETS OF SIMILARS

Among parts of the body represented are:

Face in blackened steatite (x.116), round and crude. Coptic.

Votive eyes (97.2897), four in blue glaze, the smallest one alike on both sides. Probably from Deir el-Bahri. XVIII. Dynasty.

Votive ears (97.2897), two of same material and source as the eyes preceding. Two more glazed votive ears (x.99-100), right and left

¹ Amulet groups of the V. Dynasty are published in Petrie, *Deshasheh*, pl. xxvi and p. 16. Schäfer, *Priestergräber . . . vom Totentempel des Ne-user-re*, p. 117 and 131, illustrates and describes strings of Empire and XXII. Dynasty beads interspersed with amulets.

² Petrie has listed 31 groups in his *Amulets*, p. 53, and shows 24 diagrams of original arrangements, *ibid.*, pl. L-LIII and p. 51-52.

respectively, are decorated with uncertain designs, one raised, the other incised, on the front.

Heart, in stone¹ and in mosaic glass.² In shape it resembles a round-bottomed jar with lugs. The stone specimens, of lapis lazuli, hematite, gray-green glazed ware, carnelian, etc., are perforated crosswise at top; the glass ones are all perforated vertically. Dates range probably between the XVIII. and XXVI. Dynasty.

Fist with thumb between first and second finger (94.834), dark-blue glaze with yellow-green points. Roman.

Foot (94.861 and 94.896), in carnelian. V.-VI. Dynasty. Found regularly as pendant on a bead anklet.³

Animals and plants include:

Frogs or toads (94.1955 and 94.920), perhaps implying prolific offspring. The former is of porphyry, the latter of lapis lazuli only one-fourth inch long. A frog's (?) head of blackened steatite (94.653) has a flat base on which is incised a hunting scene.

A fly (94.876) in dark gray-blue glaze. Gold flies were given as a royal order during the XVIII. Dynasty. Petrie suggests that they betokened the activity or swiftness which had won them. Presumably from a necklace.

Papyrus column, the hieroglyph for "flourishing," used also in writing the name of the goddess Uto. Examples in stone (92.67-68), light-blue glaze (92.209; 94.104-5), and glass (x.110 and x.203). This amulet occurs most frequently on the chest of the mummy. The stone and glazed forms are of the XXVI.-XXX. Dynasty; the spirally wound glass form, perforated lengthwise, is found as early as Thutmose III.

The substitute idea is seen in 94.864, an agate amulet crudely cut in the form of a claw, and in 94.113, a serpent head of carnelian.

AMULETS OF POWERS

Symbolic models included here are:

The soul as a human-headed bird, in reddish-brown opaque glass (93.83) and in gray-green fayence (94.135). The former, flat-backed, is not a pendant, but may have been used as an inlay. Over an amulet of this type, of gold set with costly stones, was to be uttered the *chapter of causing that the soul rejoin its body in the necropolis*.⁴

¹ Nos. 92.62-66; 94.868; x.105.

³ Garstang, *op. cit.*, p. 29-30.

² Nos. 94.854-55, 869, 944; x.104, 201-2.

⁴ Book of the Dead, chap. 89.

The hieroglyph for *life* (94.103).

Counterpoise of a necklace. Two examples in blue glaze. One (94.102) has incised decoration terminating in a rosette; the other (x.211), plain and without a ring, has merely two perforations at top.

Headrests, all of hematite, unperforated.¹ The Book of the Dead² has a "Chapter of the Headrest" (chap. 166) which implies that this article insures restoration of the head of the deceased after it has been cut off.

The *ded* pillar, symbol of duration. Nos. 92.87-89 and 211-17, 94.117-20, and x.5-7 are of glazed ware; but 94.121 is of lapis lazuli and 92.95 of carnelian.

Plummet, hematite, unperforated (94.185-86). Petrie³ suggests that this was worn "to impart an evenly balanced mind."

Forked lance of steatite (94.249), a somewhat altered model of an instrument used from the earliest times in the ceremony of *opening the mouth*, that the deceased might speak and eat in the next world.⁴

The feathers of Amon (93.72 and 94.250).

Crown of Upper Egypt (93.51 and 94.215), in light-blue glaze.

Crown of Lower Egypt (93.52), likewise in glaze.

Double crown of united Egypt (94.961), smaller, finely wrought in solid gold.

The hieroglyph for 'rich' (x.111).

Cobra with arched back (92.80, 100, and 206-7). Various goddesses were represented in serpent form. Another glazed example (94.984), flat-backed and without provision for suspension, was perhaps an inlay. Two lioness-headed serpents in blue glass (x.101 opaque and 94.176 translucent) suggest Isis and Nephthys as seen on the coffin 10.238.

AMULETS OF PROPERTY

A model ax blade (94.749) may have been part of one group with an ox leg (94.980) and an ox head (94.981), all in blue glaze. Such objects, unperforated, occur frequently in foundation deposits of mortuary temples.⁵ A purple ox head is seen in 94.982. No. 93.82 is a cow with legs bound ready for sacrifice, made of dark reddish-black opaque glass and probably an inlay as before. The glass of these inlays is often cut or molded, but sometimes mosaic. Tiny ducks or geese in the round

¹ Nos. 92.168; 94.116, 942, 712, 192, and 708.

² See p. 158.

³ *Amulets*, no. 37.

⁴ Cf. the bas-relief 20.264 (p. 42).

⁵ Cf. Petrie, *Six temples at Thebes*, chap. vi-vii.

are found in mottled stone (94.901 and 94.913) and also in mosaic glass (94.1957 and x.210). The latter sort is met with in connected pairs also (94.486, 94.773, and x.397).

Little situlae in blue glaze (x.17-19) should be compared with the bronze situlae already described (p. 110). The rectangular turquoise plaque (94.184) and the glazed one with rounded top (x.109) may both have been models of writing-materials, though the latter with its decoration of a serpent in relief is perhaps an appeal to the goddess Uto instead. The cartouche shape 93.70, of soft stone unperforated and uninscribed, was intended to preserve the name, which was to the Egyptian an essential element of his personality. Nos. x.38-39 in blue glaze, one double, the other single, bear the names of King Ikhнатон. The last cartouche has rings at top and bottom, as do three square plaques bearing the divine name *Ptah* (92.97-99). A pyramidal amulet (94.114) with a ring at the top which was never perforated represents a stamp seal.

PROTECTIVE AMULETS

Crescent pendants symbolize the protection of the moon god. Instances of their use are known in the second century after Christ.¹ All the examples shown (94.880, 94.847, and x.204-6) are of glass, mostly parti-colored.

Even ushebtis² are made in miniature. Of glazed specimens, 93.34-35 are from one mold, which shaped the front only; so the basket which should be shown on the back is absent. A similar figure (94.1960) has the back rounded rather than flat. No. 94.373 includes ten figures, all from one mold. They carry hoe and metal pick; but the basket is missing as before. Firing has produced slight variations in the color of their glaze. The shape of 93.36 is too indefinite to reveal its equipment; but it is distinctive for being perforated both from top to bottom and from side to side.³ One beardless figure in dark-red and blue glass (92.60) may

¹ Cf. Petrie, *Roman portraits and Memphis (IV)*, pl. viii and p. 12, quoted in his *Amulets*.

² See chap. iv.

³ Petrie found similarly perforated ushebtis models "in violet and green glazed pottery" at Gurob in a tomb dated to the XIX. Dynasty by a glass ring with the name of Ramses II. See his *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara*, pl. xxiv 11 and p. 36. In Reisner, *Amulets* (in the Cairo Catalogue), nos. 12042-49 are of "glazed steatite, 4 cm. h., pierced from top to bottom." Two specimens in the New York Historical Society, Smith Collection, nos. 36 and 37, are pierced transversely through the wig for threading. All these references are due to Dr. Williams.

be not a model ushebtu, but one of the sons of Horus described below, though the latter when flat are regularly represented in side instead of front view as here. A limestone mold (94.629), showing in profile a bearded mummiform figure, suggests processes lying behind our finished images. The mummy lying on its bier is seen in 94.141, of dull yellow opaque glass. The bier is modeled after a lion; and mummy and lion are placed head to head.

Other symbols of protection, all in blue glaze, are the so-called "girdle tie of Isis" (92.86 and 94.824), the pylon-shaped pectoral with drawing of Osiris, Horus, and Isis (94.454), and the large scarab with separate wings, pierced symmetrically for stitching to mummy wrappings (x.1). Then there is a vulture (unperforated) in dark-blue glass (93.81). Two shell pectorals of Red Sea pearl (94.775 and 94.695) are engraved with the cartouche of *Kheperkere* (Sesostris I of the XII. Dynasty). A pendant bulla of green and brown mosaic glass (x.208) may be Roman. The crosses 94.899, of bronze, and 94.900, of silver, are of course Coptic. Another silver cross (94.906) is of simpler form without enlarged ends.

AMULETS OF GODS

This class is divisible into three groups: deities in human form, deities partly animal, and deities in animal form.

DEITIES IN HUMAN FORM.—The Osirian triad, consisting of the ruler of the dead himself, his sister and wife Isis, and their son Horus, is well represented. In the Osirian myth the eye of Horus plays a part so prominent that it becomes symbolic of offerings of all sorts. It is, then, very natural to find the sacred eye plentifully reproduced as an amulet. No. 92.96 is an Old Kingdom type in carnelian, perforated lengthwise and with markings on both sides. The eye 94.181, of black and white stone, is flat on both sides with no modeling whatever. Right eyes in blue or green glaze are 94.878 and 94.183, with a ring above for suspension, and 94.952 and 92.104-5, perforated lengthwise. Nos. 94.182 and 93.53 resemble the preceding, but are molded alike on both sides. Carnelian occurs again in 94.949, a right eye with ring above, and 94.950, a left eye perforated vertically at its inner end. Excavations at Deir el-Bahri have furnished quantities of small, glazed objects of the XVIII. Dynasty, among which are the right eyes x.212-13. The former has a feather (?) incised upon its back side. XII. Dynasty eyes are shown in red jasper (92.166-67) and carnelian (94.879). The first is a right eye; the other two are alike

on both sides. So are three tiny gold eyes strung together (94.959). There is a similar right eye in blue glaze (94.951). A rectangular plaque, 94.108, has a right eye in relief within a depression on its front. It is pierced for stitching through each upper corner. Nos. 92.184 and x.21 are quadruple eyes of the XXIII.-XXV. Dynasty. In the former case they are combined into a roundish open-work plaque with milled edge. The design of x.21 shows across the center a reed mat such as was regularly placed under offerings. From it, facing outward between each pair of eyes, extends the hieroglyph of *union*. The shape of the whole is so arranged as to suggest a scarab beetle.

Horus as a child ("Harpocrates" in the Greek pronunciation of the Egyptian phrase) appears in various attitudes: standing (94.831), slouching (92.228), sitting (92.92), wearing the double crown (93.85). In a crude Roman example (x.117) the right arm which holds the child's finger to his mouth forms a loop instead of having a proper elbow. Most peculiar is the little squatting figure 94.839, of blue-glazed steatite, wearing a queue down his back instead of the usual side lock of youth. On the base is incised a standing figure of Anubis, jackal-headed and carrying a scepter.

Isis holding Horus on her lap is seen in 92.27, of hematite. She wears on her head a uraeus and the seat which represents her name; but the latter is misshapen, appearing as a mere cylindrical projection. In the glazed group 92.52 she wears the double crown and twin uraei, and her throne is of openwork. Nos. 93.43, 94.255, and 94.931 show her with the cow's horns and sun disk of Hathor. The headdress of 94.1945 is lost. Isis occurs alone, standing, with her name on her head, in lapis lazuli (92.101 and 94.177) and in fayence (94.178, 94.213, 93.64, and 92.223). Pendant plaques (92.102, 92.185, 92.225, and 10.162) show the sister goddesses Isis and Nephthys with Horus standing between them. Nephthys stands alone with name on head in the lapis lazuli pendant 92.174 and the fayence 94.764.

A silver pendant of Osiris (94.862) has lost the feet and parts of the crown. Then there is a "heart of Osiris" in black steatite (94.853). This ovoid object wears a headdress of horns, sun disk, and feathers, and

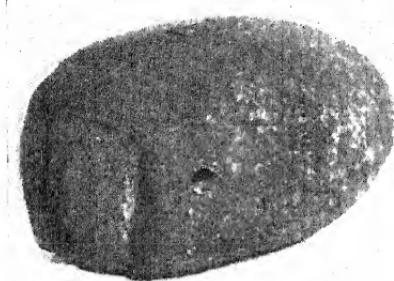


94.839

has an unusual double base. A shrine (above) and a winged scarab (below) are cursorily incised on the front. Behind is a round-topped stela; this in turn supports a perforated back pillar. Another somewhat similar object of hematite (94.670), flattened to lie on its broadest surface, has one end cut into the form of a face. Just behind extends a crosswise perforation by which the amulet might be suspended on the breast.

One column of almost illegible inscription runs along its top, and there are five columns on the bottom. The text is perhaps the heart scarab formula.¹

Min in his conventional ithyphallic form is associated with Montu, hawk-headed and himself wearing two tall feathers, in the bronze pendant 94.748. The blue-glazed plaque 94.760 shows him



94.760

with a hawk-headed Horus who wears the double crown. Min is alone in 94.1949 and again in relief on 94.763, a little plaque in stela form.

There are two bronze pendants (94.274 and 92.229) representing Amon-Re of Thebes with his two tall feathers and his sun disk. In the groups 94.819, of blue fayence, and 94.766, of bronze overlaid with gold, Amon is accompanied by his consort Mut and their son Khonsu. The latter is sometimes a youth and sometimes hawk-headed; each type is here illustrated. Khonsu as a mummied youth with side lock and crowned by moon disk and crescent appears alone in 94.148½ and probably in the very crude glazed figures 94.1947-48.

The help of Shu, the god of the atmosphere, was much valued in combating harmful creatures. His figures (92.84, 93.69, 94.160-64, 94.936-38, x.31-32, all in fayence) picture him as a bearded man with sun disk on head kneeling with left knee up and arms raised. In 94.162 only he upholds the symbol of the sky. His position varies from full front view to profile. Onuris, another form of Shu, seen in the bronze pendant 92.201, wears a crown of four feathers side by side and a long garment. With his hands he holds diagonally across his body something pliant which may represent a serpent.

¹ See p. 149.

A tiny glazed plaque (94.909) rounded above and perforated through the upper right corner bears in relief a standing figure of Hathor with her cow horns and sun disk. With her right hand she holds a staff; her left carries the sign of *life*. The head, too, of Hathor is used independently. One such pendant is of stone (x.14); others are of fayence (x.15), sometimes with a face on each side (x.16). The head x.214, with a right eye of Horus impressed on its base, is a votive offering from Deir el-Bahri. So, too, perhaps, is the two-faced head 94.665, blue glazed with eyes and hair in black. It was once a model sistrum, but has lost the long handle which originally projected below. The sistrum motive appears again in the design over the head in 94.271.

Figures of Nefertem as a pendant occur in bronze (94.716) and glaze (94.1951 and 94.851). The god wears royal kilt, beard, and uraeus. His headdress is a full-blown lotus flower, out of which towers a spike of leaves or feathers. In 93.40 he stands upon a crouching lion. Both Nefertem and the deformed child deities called *Pataikoi* by Herodotus¹ are considered offspring of Ptah. The Pataikoi are sometimes standing (e.g., 92.219 and 94.128), sometimes partially squatting (94.965 and 94.148). Their large heads are flattened and frequently bare of headdress. But x.396 and 94.965 wear a scarab beetle. The elaborate crown of 94.148 is highly unusual.² No. 94.1953 is a compound with added wings and body of a Horus hawk; it seems also to have had a ram's head, the face of which is now broken away. Ptah himself, the god of Memphis, is seen in conventional mummied form in 94.194.

Other amulets in human form include Imhotep (92.222 and 94.1954³) and a female figure of opaque glass (x.113). A head and neck (92.170)⁴ are modeled in mosaic glass, the eyebrow in black and eye in black and white contrasting with the red ground color. Rough Roman work is evident in the non-Egyptian faces of x.114-15.

DEITIES PARTLY ANIMAL.—Horus and Re are both frequently represented standing hawk-headed. In the absence of inscriptions it is simplest to assume that such figures when wearing the double crown (92.49, 193, 196, 230; 94.170) are intended for Horus. The squatting turquoise figure 93.73, without a headdress, is possibly Kebehsenuf

¹ iii. 37.

² Other Pataikoi are 93.41; 94.196, 198, 765, and 1952.

³ Not a pendant.

⁴ Headdress is missing; not a pendant.



94.271

instead.¹ Re normally wears a sun disk with uraeus (92.194; 94.149, 1946). In 92.195 the uraeus is omitted.

The four sons of Horus, namely Imset, Hapi, Duamutef, and Kebeh-senuf, who had long protected the dead in other ways,² were from the XXIII. Dynasty onward used as amulets also. The regular late grouping of human, ape, jackal, and hawk heads is not always observed. Thus the Ptolemaic group 93.86-89, of blue fayence decorated in black, includes three jackals and one ape (93.88). The blue fayence set 92.186-88 has lost its hawk-headed member. Nos. 93.76-80 and 94.142 are of glass, unperforated. Some of them hold draped cloths;³ others wear the sun disk on their heads.

The plaque x.36 bears in relief one of the infrequent representations of Set, the enemy of the Osiris group.

Various sphinx forms with female head occur. The XII. Dynasty figures x.103, of green feldspar, and x.108, of amethyst, have the body of a seated cat (?). No. 94.935 shows in serpentine a grotesque human face combined with the body of a crouching lion.

Two very crude attempts in blue glaze seem intended for Hathor with a cow's head (94.943 and x.20).

Khnum, the fashioner of men, stands ram-headed in the glazed figures 92.192, 94.886, 94.151, and 93.38.

Judging by the number of his figures,⁴ Bes with his grotesque mask and tails⁵ is a highly popular protector. Omission of his headdress of palm branches or feathers, as in 93.44, suggests an Empire date. On the other hand, such combinations of blue or green glaze with yellow as 93.65 and 94.270 indicate the Roman period. These last two are also alike on both sides. A group of flat-backed Bes figures alternating with Hathor heads still retains part of its original threading (x.12). Besides the glazes, there is an early Bes in carnelian (94.948), with a ring at the top in place of his headdress, and a figure impressed in relief on blue glass shaped like an inverted ear (x.25). There is also a terra cotta mold for

¹ Cf. Petrie, *Amulets*, p. 39.

² Cf. p. 19.

³ Cf. the painted genii on coffin 93.14 (p. 15-16).

⁴ Nos. 92.54-55, 71, 189, 220-21; 93.44 and 65; 94.153-59, 199, 254, 270, 939, 948; x.12-13 and 25.

⁵ Cf. Jéquier's note in *Recueil de travaux*, vol. 37, p. 114-18. An Empire chair (10550) in Haskell Oriental Museum at the University of Chicago shows Bes with human head entirely undisguised.

Bes (94.273). The god is seen in profile holding the symbol of protection (now lost) in his left hand in 94.897, a bit of lavender glaze of the late XVIII. Dynasty.¹ On the openwork plaque 94.908 he stands between two figures of Toëris. A fragment of a large head (94.652) in blue glaze with the features in black is Roman. The head above the erected serpent on the black steatite plaque 94.845 may also be that of Bes.

Mahes, "the Lion," as seen in 94.171, wears on his lion head the *atef* crown.

Sekhmet, the lioness-headed war goddess, is often inextricably confused with Bastet, the cat-headed goddess of Bubastis in the Delta. The only bronze pendant of this group, 94.870, represents Bastet or perhaps Uto. As shown in fayence,² the goddess stands sometimes without attributes.³ In 94.1950 she wears only a broad collar and in 94.131-32 a uraeus. A blundered inscription on the back pillar of 94.131 mentions Bastet. Other standing figures carry a scepter.⁴ One of this type (92.59) has at her feet a lion whelp. No. 94.608 is probably Bastet carrying in the left hand her "aegis." Seated figures sometimes hold a sort of sistrum,⁵ sometimes both sistrum and scepter.⁶ The sign of *life* is incised on the rear of the openwork throne of 92.51; x.34 is a plaque. A mold for a Sekhmet or Uto (94.751) shows the goddess suckling a king.

The "aegis" carried by Bastet, a leonine head topping a broad collar, appears also independently as an amulet. In x.395 and 93.54

¹ Not a pendant.

² Used for all the rest of this group except 94.131 and 94.206.

³ Nos. 92.58 and 190-91; 94.189.

⁴ Nos. 92.85; 93.68; 94.130.

⁵ Nos. 92.175 and 94.932.

⁶ Nos. 92.51, 176; 94.206; x.34.



94.751

the figure wears the sun disk and uraeus characteristic of Sekhmet.¹ The similar object x.37 is shaped below the broad collar into a counterpoise. On the disk at its end appears a sacred eye. The back bears



92.162



94.224

an incised column of inscription, probably *Utterance by Bastet*. Two bronzes, 92.162 and 94.224, represent a human-headed goddess instead. The one wears the crown of Lower Egypt, the other the cow horns and sun disk of Hathor.



94.962

Anubis, a cemetery god, is jackal-headed like the animals that prowled the desert margins.² A little blue plaque (x.33) bears in relief a crocodile-headed Sebek wearing a crown of horns and feathers. The bronze 94.715 is typical of the ibis-headed moon god Thoth. On his head rise crescent and full moon; the latter still shows traces of gilding. A small figure (94.166) is of lapis lazuli. Other Thoths in fayence are abundant.³

He stands with left foot forward as usual and both arms at sides.

¹ No. 94.107 is similar, but lacks uraeus.

² Nos. 92.197; 93.42; 94.125-27, 193, 202-5; x.35 and 118.

³ Nos. 92.133, 198, 227; 93.37; 94.123, 165, 167, 188, 190-91, 200-201, 207, 209. No. 94.875 also seems to have an ibis head, but wears two plumes and carries a scepter.

DEITIES IN ANIMAL FORM.—A rather shapeless squatting ape of carnelian (94.894) is probably of Middle Kingdom date. Another of blackened steatite (94.903), almost human-faced, rests its hands on its raised knees. Seated figures of fayence are the most common.¹

A glazed baboon (94.139) standing on his hind legs, or rather supported by his stiffened tail, has *Thoth, lord of Shmun*, incised on his base. Seated baboons occur in carnelian (94.902) and in glaze (92.53, 94.759, 94.829). No. 94.759 wears appropriately the moon god's disk and crescent.²

The Apis bull 94.357, with sun disk between his horns, is to be distinguished from the similar Hathor cow 92.103. The glass cow 92.172, with back flat for inlaying (?), wears the same insignia but is lying down. Then there is the left half of a little plaque (94.1956) which bore *en creux* a cow facing to the right. A serpentine pendant (x.218) gives a cow or ox head in front view.

Amon of Thebes appears as a couchant ram in the glazes 93.47 and 92.182. A fine, standing ram of mosaic glass (10.161) has the head and breast yellow, nose amber, body and part of base blue, rest of base, legs, tail, and part of back white, and a black stripe along the ridge of the back. Rams' heads also occur in opaque glass (94.858 and 933) and in glazed steatite (94.898).

Hares of fayence³ may possibly, as Petrie suggests,⁴ stand for the first element of Osiris' epithet *Wen-nofer*, "the good being."

A crouching lion in light-blue glaze (92.135) is Saite or later. The earlier lion's head in carnelian, 92.237, requires imagination to identify. The fore quarters of a crouching lion and bull, the latter wearing a sun disk between his horns, are joined back to back in 94.367. No. 94.844 may represent two bulls' heads joined in the same way.

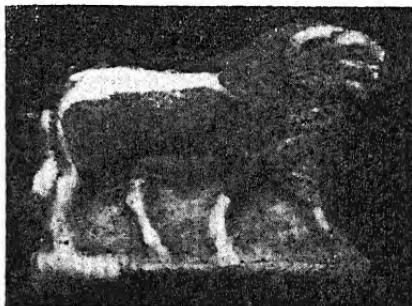
Bastet is symbolized by the cat figures 93.67, 94.134, 94.892, and 94.904. Another cat (94.761) sits on top of a papyrus column.

¹ Nos. 92.177; 93.45; 94.138 and 214.

² Two crude figures of baboons (x.106-7) are of chalcedony and porphyry respectively.

³ Nos. 92.180-81; 93.49; 94.133, 152, 168, and 253.

10.161



⁴ *Amulets*, no. 213.

The recumbent jackal of Anubis is seen in 92.183, 94.269, and probably in the blackened steatite pendant x.112.

Nos. 92.178 and 94.211 are sows.

Little standing hippopotami carved in stone have survived from pre-dynastic times. Of the two to be seen here, one (94.666) is some 3 inches long, cut in a hard, pinkish limestone. The head, with its slit of a mouth, is brought so far down that the front feet are held off the ground. Six knobs represent features. The feet are merely four slightly projecting points. From the center of the back rises a circular projection, bored out inside to form a cuplike hollow whose lip is pierced with five holes. It has been suggested that these holes are "for suspension by a strip of leather."¹ The other (94.642) is only 2½ inches long, of travertine, the veining of which shows prominently along the back. The head this time is well up from the ground. The mouth and six knobs on the edges of the face are very slightly indicated. Two supports of full-body width are grooved to suggest four feet. There are six holes in the lip of the cup on the back. A late fayence hippopotamus (94.683) is lying comfortably with head turned to the right.

The compound goddess Toëris² is most naturally grouped with hippopotami. Besides glazed figures³ and profiles,⁴ lapis lazuli (94.827), red jasper (94.147), and glass (x.28), sometimes mosaic (x.26 and x.207), occur.

A hedgehog in green glaze (94.846) rests on an inscribed base.

Crocodiles are shown in carnelian (94.830), blackened steatite (94.893), and fayence (94.890, 934, and 946) with their tails in assorted positions.

Two bronzes, 94.872 and 94.860, representing the spear of Horus of Edfu, symbolize his successful fight against Set.⁵ A XII. Dynasty hawk of Horus in green feldspar, x.102, is a mate of the female sphinx

¹ Quibell, *Archaic objects* (in the Cairo Catalogue), referring to nos. 14450-51, from Gebel Tarif near Hou. Several hippopotami in both stone and pottery are illustrated by Capart, *Débuts de l'art en Egypte*, p. 170. Petrie, *Amulets*, no. 235, claims these figures were "a frequent ornament for attachment to legs of water skins." The same object, with proportions reversed, is found as a hollowed tusk of ivory perforated around the large end while the tip is carved into a tiny hippopotamus. The cup alone, of stone or clay, also occurs. See Ayrton and Loat, *Predynastic cemetery at El Mahasna*, pl. XIII 2 and 4, and their discussion on p. 27-28.

² Cf. p. 57.

³ Nos. 92.56, 83, 137, 218; 93.11, 39, 63; 94.143-46, 817.

⁴ Nos. x.27 and 29-30.

⁵ So Erman, *Die ägyptische Religion*, 2d ed., p. 235.

x.103. Later hawks are of glaze¹ and blackened steatite.² Nos. 93.48 and 94.843 are ibises of Thoth. Two Coptic amulets of pearl shell are in the form of what seem to be an ostrich (94.771) and twin doves (94.837) respectively.

The god Nehebkau is sometimes a serpent complete with tail turned up behind and human arms added (94.769 and 816); again, his serpent head tops a seated human body (92.224).

Two kinds of fish as pendants are seen in the bronze 94.733 and the carnelian amulet 94.907.

Pairs of fingers such as 94.247 and 94.680, of obsidian and hematite respectively, seem not to have been amulets of similars, like other parts of the body, but instead to have had reference perhaps to an old myth. In the Pyramid Texts of the Old Kingdom³ we read: *O Morning-star, Horus of Duat, divine hawk, mayest thou give to this Pepi (the deceased king) these thy two fingers which thou didst give to the Beauteous One, the daughter of the great god (the sun), at the separation of sky from earth, even at the ascent of the gods to the sky, while thou wast a soul dawning in the prow of this thy barque of 770 cubits.*

¹ Nos. 92.81 (good), 179, 208; 94.811, 822 (with disk and perhaps crescent; cf. Petrie, *Amulets*, no. 245ab), 905 (Roman), 964 (with double crown).

² No. 94.841 (with double crown?).

³ Secs. 1208-9 in Sethe's edition.

XI

SCARABS, ETC.

SCOPE OF THE CHAPTER

Small beetle-shaped objects often seen today in stick pins or on watch chains are perhaps the most familiar survivals of ancient Egypt. These *scarabs*, so called from the species of beetle they represent, were worn on the person by their original owners also, for their two chief uses were as amulets and as seals. The same purposes were served by derived or related types of plaques and beads. Seals of another form, cylindrical, were common before 3000 B.C. as well as during the Middle Kingdom. The beetle shape found a third use in a series of commemorative medals issued about 1400 B.C. Monumental scarabs,¹ forming the fourth and last scarab group, were occasionally set up in the temples from the Empire onward.

USE AND ORIGIN OF SEALS²

Seals served in the absence of metal locks and keys (not found in Egypt before Roman times) to make safe all sorts of valuables. A box would be provided with two knobs, one on the container, the other on the lid. When these knobs had been tied together, a stamped pellet of clay would secure the treasure. A cap of clay spread over the mouth of a wine jar would be stamped with the owner's seal. A rolled-up letter or business document likewise was validated by impressing the seal of the author or responsible official upon the lump of clay which covered the knot of the encircling cord. In no case could an unauthorized party interfere without a broken seal revealing his misdeed. As the seal indicated ownership or authority, transfer of a seal implied transfer of authority. From the pharaoh down, the seal formed part of the equipment received upon taking office. It certified the right to perform one's official duties, including responsibility for such property as the office controlled.³

¹ Cf. Hall, *Catalogue of Egyptian scarabs, etc., in the British Museum*, p. xxi.

² This section is based on the more elaborate treatment in Newberry, *Scarabs*.

³ Bestowal of the seal at induction into office is illustrated, *ibid.*, pl. II.

Accidental irregularities on pebbles or bits of reed used, for example, in smoothing the clay cap of a wine jar may have provided the first rough and ready means of discovering tampering. These were supplanted by intentional markings. Sections of reed furnished the model for the cylinder seals found in both Egypt and Babylonia. Out of the primitive scratched pebbles developed stamp types of seals, including beads, plaques, and scarabs.

THE SCARAB FORM

The scarab *form* seems at first to have been purely amuletic. According to one legend, out of primeval chaos the sun god had come into existence in the form of Khepri. Now Khepri is commonly pictured as a scarab beetle. But both this name, which contains the idea of "coming into existence," and the imagery connected with it have a linguistic background. The verb *khoper*, "to be or become," contained the same consonants as the word for "beetle."¹ It is, of course, impossible to draw a picture of an abstract idea. So the Egyptian writing, built up out of pictures, used the concrete beetle to represent both the name of the insect itself and the abstract notion of "becoming." The hope of renewed existence in the other world was symbolized, then, in this convenient sign.

Jars full of actual beetles have been found in predynastic tombs.² Uninscribed scarabs of ivory and of blue glaze, which could have been symbolic only, were buried with the dead in the VI. Dynasty (before 2500 B.C.).³ Small model beetles made during the Restoration and Ptolemaic periods, with no base on which to put an inscription, are, of course, likewise pure amulets. To the two thousand years between these last groups belong the scarabs with inscribed base, as the flat, oval surface ordinarily added beneath the beetle may be called.

DESIGN AND MATERIAL

Even before the Middle Kingdom rough geometric designs are found on scarab bases. Scarabs with names of kings and of officials were common by the XII. Dynasty. The former were still in some cases merely amulets, whose magic virtue was increased by the presence of the royal

¹ The verb may indeed have been derived from the name of the insect because of a misunderstanding of its peculiar habits (see Hall, *op. cit.*, p. xvii ff.), so that the Egyptian really said "to beetle," referring to the creature's metamorphosis, when he meant "to become alive" and finally simply "to become."

² Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, p. 33.

³ Naville, *Cemeteries of Abydos*, pt. I, pl. vii and p. 18-19.

name. For the Egyptian king was divine: he was often called *the good god*, and in his titulary he is regularly recognized as *the son of Re* (the sun god).¹ That scarabs were already used as seals also is shown by surviving impressions in clay.² Stone best served this latter purpose. Hard stones such as amethyst, green jasper, green basalt, and even obsidian, occur during the Middle Kingdom. Sometimes the base itself was incised; again, a gold plate over the base bore the design.³ Glazed steatite, however, is the commonest of all materials. Though naturally soft, its surface was hardened by the heat required in glazing. .

Under the Empire glazed frit ("fayence") scarabs vie in numbers with those of steatite. Ivory and metal, too, were occasionally used.⁴ Though kings' names are still frequent on their bases, the quantity inscribed instead with symbolic appeals to deities, as well as use of the softer material, unsuited for a seal, indicate that the scarab has again become primarily an amulet.

THE COLLECTION

Most of the scarabs and related objects shown belong to a collection made by the late Rev. Chauncey Murch, of Luxor, purchased and presented to the Art Institute in 1894 by H. H. Getty and Charles L. Hutchinson. The seals and amulets exhibited are arranged on the basis of form: cylinders, scarabs proper, plaques, and miscellaneous forms. The following description of selected specimens distinguishes the two functions where feasible.⁵ Commemorative and monumental scarabs close the chapter

CYLINDER SEALS

The most common type of cylinder seal before 3000 B.C. was made of wood or of unglazed steatite, perforated lengthwise,⁶ and either kept in a box or slung on a necklace. It was rolled by hand over the

¹ Both titles appear on the cylinder 94.1277.

² See Ayrton, Currelly, and Weigall, *Abydos*, pt. 3, pl. xxxix and p. 18; also Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, pl. ix and x.

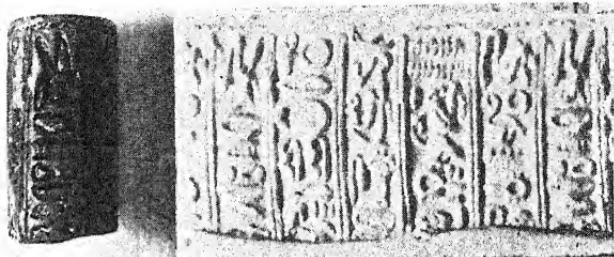
³ J. de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, vol. 1, pl. xix 35 and 37.

⁴ The New York Historical Society collections, Dr. Williams informs the writer, contain an XVIII. Dynasty ivory scarab of an official and an openwork copper wish scarab (no. 192S).

⁵ Most of the scarabs, etc., bearing names of kings and officials have been published in facsimile and translation by Mr. G. C. Pier in *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, October, 1906, and October, 1905, respectively. Divergences between Mr. Pier's reproductions and the actual objects are numerous.

⁶ The process of boring is illustrated in Steindorff, *Grab des Ti*, pl. 133, lower left corner

clay,¹ or sometimes mounted in a holder. The cylinders of the Middle Kingdom, smaller than the early dynastic seals, are made of glazed steatite. Some bear the names of XII. Dynasty pharaohs: *Sesostris, beloved of Sebek* (94.1272); *Amenemhet, beloved of Sebek the lord of the Harpoon Lake city*² and of *Esneh* respectively (94.1273-74); *Nubkure, Amenemhet II* (94.1275); *Nematre* twice (94.1276); *the good god, lord of the Two Lands*,



94.1280

Nematre, son of Re, Amenemhet (III) (94.1277); *Khekure* (Sesostris III) and *Nematre* together (94.1278). Then comes *the good god Khaneferre* (Sebekhotep IV) of the XIII. Dynasty (94.1279). As in the preceding group, the royal name is inclosed in a so-called cartouche, itself probably an elongated representation of a seal ring with bezel. No. 94.1280 (lower end lost) belonged to the Hyksos king *Khian* (without cartouche). Its incised signs show variegated tints. The preserved portion of this important but perplexing cylinder reads: ^{1. 1}*The King of Lower Egypt, lord of the Two Lands, lord — 1. 2*¹*life in the presence of Khian*¹ — ^{1. 3}¹*the King of Upper Egypt, who increased — 1. 4*¹*in [his] body — 1. 5*¹*Suser<en>re, the son of Re, of [his] body —*

Even the cylinder could now perhaps be amuletic. Thus 94.1284 shows a purely decorative and symbolic design of the same age (Middle Kingdom-Hyksos): six columns of symmetrical panels in pairs outlined by rope borders contain interlocking spirals, interwoven ropes, and obscure hieroglyphs.³ The amuletic value of the Empire kings' names *Zeserkere* (Amenhotep I), *Menkheperre* (Thutmose III), and *Merneptah*

¹ An end view of a cylinder seal in use is perhaps afforded by the bottom sign in Petrie, *Royal tombs*, pt. 2, pl. vii 12, which shows the incised ivory lid of a I. Dynasty king's seal casket. Pl. vii 5-6 show clay impressions of this same king's seal, which, so the inscription on 12 tells us, was of gold.

² So Professor Newberry, who examined with the writer a photograph of this inscription.

³ Cf. 94.1389, a scarab of Sesostris I, XII. Dynasty.

on 94.1281-83 is suggested rather by their material, glazed pottery. Another pottery cylinder of later date (x.10) shows merely two standing figures of abnormal outline, but perhaps representing a king.

SCARABS PROPER¹

The form of the scarab beetle was sometimes copied closely;² again, it was highly conventionalized. The prothorax, the wing cases, the legs, might one or all be left unindicated. The insect might stand high or low on his base; the legs might or might not be cut free; a human face even might appear in place of the beetle's head.³ Modifications in design developed from age to age alongside already established forms, while old types died out or were revived.⁴

A scarab seal might be strung on a thin gold-wire hoop,⁵ to hang in turn from a cord or necklace. But the more usual mounting was as a swivel bezel in a ring,⁶ the edges then being as a rule protected by an encircling strip of metal, the funda.⁷ Even the back as well was sometimes covered.⁸ Amuletic scarabs of the Empire and later are found making up whole necklaces also; these often served as votive offerings to the gods.⁹ A lengthwise perforation was usual in any case.

The scarabs proper are so numerous that many must be left unmentioned. They may be arranged as follows: A. Royal; B. Official and private; C. Divine; D. Wish scarabs; E. Decorative and symbolic; F. Heart scarabs; G. Miscellaneous.

A. ROYAL SCARABS.—Some scarabs with royal names were seals. But those bearing pre-Middle Kingdom names are pure amulets, none of

¹ Scarabs listed on the Art Institute's official register, but unidentified, include nos. 92.90, 199-200; 93.55-58, 60-62, 84, 90, 92-99. Of these, nos. 93.96-97 had been marked on other objects.

² See the actual beetle exhibited in the same case.

³ E.g., 94.1605, 1638, 1643.

⁴ Newberry, *op. cit.*, p. 70 ff., has endeavored to chart the shift of forms chronologically. Hall, *op. cit.*, p. xxx ff., classifies them on a naturalistic-conventional basis. Petrie, *Scarabs and cylinders with names* (London, 1917), has made the most recent and most detailed study of scarab types.

⁵ J. de Morgan, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pl. xx 35 and 48a.

⁶ So 92.25 (p. 111); the hard stone of the scarab accounts for omission of funda. A rectangular block of carnelian takes the place of a scarab in x.9.

⁷ The funda survives, e.g., on 94.1437, 1455, 1461.

⁸ As in 94.1777.

⁹ So x.126.

them made earlier than the Empire,¹ intended to invoke the aid of powerful deified sovereigns of the already hoary past. *Menes*, the founder of the I. Dynasty; *Snefru*, the III. Dynasty exploiter of mines in Sinai; the IV. Dynasty pyramid-builders *Khafre* and *Menkure* (three times²); and one of the VI. Dynasty *Pepi's*, perhaps *Pepi II* who ruled over ninety years, are the kings here commemorated.³

The earliest contemporary scarab seals shown (94.1387-89) date to Sesostris I of the XII. Dynasty. Borders of hooks and coils, appearing already in this reign, are characteristic of the Middle Kingdom-Hyksos period. A diagonal spray is occasionally found on the back (94.1543, of Sesostris III). Craftsmanship in steatite best shows its skill in 94.1546. The tiny back is all of delicately cut openwork, originally inlaid. The oval prothorax frames the name *Nematre* (King Amenemhet III, of the XII. Dynasty); the wing cases show the folk god Bes between two figures of Toëris. On the base is a symbolic prayer for good (things). One of the XIII. Dynasty *Sebekhotep's* is commemorated on 94.1393-95. Other scarabs are unusually definite. Thus 94.1396 names the good god *Sekhemresuaztowe Sebekhotep* (III), living forever, born of the king's mother *Yuhetibu*; and on 94.1397-98 appear the good god *Khasesheshre* (Neferhotep I) and the good god *Khaneferre* (Sebekhotep IV) respectively, each begotten of the priest *Haankhet*. *Khahetepre Sebekhotep* (VI) and the little-known kings *Nehsi* and *Dedu* (for *Dedumes*?) are found on 94.1401-2 and 1544.

Hyksos kings' names⁵ include *Ouserre* (Apophis I), *Khian*, *Jacobher*, *Sheshi* (or *Apophis*?), and others of uncertain reading. *Khian* bears on 94.1418 the title *Ruler of Countries* (*hik-khaswet*), which is probably the source of the term "Hyksos" applied to these mysterious foreign conquerors.⁶ Various line decorations, also the symbols of life, good (things), etc., often fill the panels at either side of the royal name.

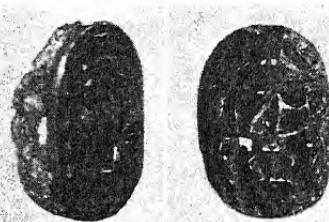
¹ Hall, *op. cit.*, p. xxxv, treats clearly and concisely "the dating of scarab types."

² Written *Men-ka-re* in each instance. ⁴ Enlarged.

³ Nos. 94.1382-86, 1542, and 1541.

⁵ On nos. 94.1403-16, 1418, and 1420.

⁶ Manetho's history of Egypt (as preserved in Josephus *Against Apion* i. 14) gives instead the untenable etymology "shepherd kings."



94.1546⁴

An early XVIII. Dynasty scarab of Amenhotep I (94.1430) illustrates old types of decoration¹ carried forward into the Empire, as well as the dawning use of pottery for scarabs and an ornamental treatment of the insect form. An unusual shape (94.1422) dated by the name of Ahmose, the founder of the dynasty, tapers toward the bottom, is inscribed wrong end up, and is pierced, not lengthwise, but crosswise at



94.1411

94.1403

94.1404

94.1405

94.1418

each end. The king is now frequently pictured as a lion,² wearing a crown of horns and feathers. Again, as a helmeted warrior with the uraeus of royalty on his brow, he grasps his enemy by the scalp to smite him with his sword (94.1445).

The great queen, Hatshepsut, on the other hand, is once (94.1453) distinguished by the epithet *abiding of monuments*, recalling her obelisks and her magnificent terraced temple at Deir el-Bahri.³ Her half-brother, husband, co-ruler, and successor, Thutmose III, was the greatest of all Egyptian conquerors. His name Menkheperre was famous in after ages for its magic powers, and was even assumed by later pharaohs. So the

numerous *Menkheperre* scarabs (94.1459-65, 1467-80), besides including some amulets (e.g., 94.1475), may refer occasionally to rulers of the Decadence.⁴ Amenhotep III, great-grandson of the famed Thutmose,

¹ Chain of hooks; also unintelligible hieroglyphs as on 94.1284 and 1389.

² Nos. 94.1428, 1440, 1442, etc.

³ Illustrations of this temple (from the Egypt Exploration Society folios) are mounted in the swinging wall-frames.

⁴ A high priest Menkheperre of the XXI. Dynasty was powerful enough at one time to assume the cartouche. Again, the Ethiopian Shabataka used this name; cf. Reisner in *Journal of Egyptian archaeology*, vol. 6 (1920), p. 64.



94.1422

was the most splendid of the pharaohs. He and his queen Tiy are commemorated, singly or together, by numerous seals or amulets (94.1491-96 and 1498-1506) as well as by the scarab-shaped medals described on p. 154.

The XIX. Dynasty furnishes many elaborate symbolic designs. Seti I may be seen praying for *life* to Uto, the crowned serpent-guardian of the North (94.1514). Or, as a winged lion, human-headed and bearded like a god, he treads a prostrate enemy (94.1516). His son Ramses II spent a reign of sixty-seven years in making himself the best-advertised pharaoh in

history. His name, like those of Thutmose III and Amenhotep III, was valued in appeals for blessings; and ten successive rulers of the next (XX.) dynasty called themselves Ramses after him. For amuletic purposes pottery scarabs were in his day often cast in molds (e.g., 94.1526). The result was, however, unpleasing; so the practice soon died out until the Restoration. A few scarabs of the XX. Dynasty Ramessids, bearing their names only, are displayed.¹ To the XXV. (Ethiopian) Dynasty belong the scarabs of the priestess Amenirdis (I), *royal daughter of Kashta* (94.1539), and of the god's-wife Shepnupet (II), *royal daughter of Piankhi* (94.1538). *Wahibre*² of the XXVI. Dynasty is named on 94.1540.

B. OFFICIAL AND PRIVATE SCARABS.—These are largely of Middle Kingdom-Hyksos date. As a class, they best represent the seal function of scarabs. Titles include among others: *the head storehouse-keeper, Hotpiy* (94.1552); *the fowl-overseer's deputy, the seal-bearer, Neferwazet* (94.1556); *the priest [who enters unto] the divine image of Satis, Khnumhotep* (94.1557); *the victualer of the ruler's table, Hori* (94.1558); *the great one of the Southern Tens* (a judicial title), *Wahptah* (94.1559); *the eldest of the hall, Ekhmemi* (94.1551); *the ruler's servant, 'Hen¹marwet* (94.1564); *the house-mistress, Siptah, possessed of reverence (=deceased)* (94.1566); *the hereditary prince, count, seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, the chief steward, Res* (94.1567); *the king's intimate, 'Mentu'hotep* (94.1569; continuous coils border the sides and, though of obsidian, the prothorax

¹ Nos. 94.1531 (Setnakht), 1529 (R. III), 1536 (R. VI), 1537 (R. XI).

² His accompanying title, *Horus, servant of Truth*, indicates Apries (biblical *Hophra*, Jer. 44:30) rather than Psamtik I.



94.1539



94.1538



94.1556

94.1557

94.1569
(base)94.1569
(back)

is dotted with gold inlay); *the [loud] singer, Theni, living again* (scil. in the other world), possessed of reverence (=deceased) (94.1573); *the companion* (scil. of the king), guardsman, and chief of police, *Ku* (94.1582); *the child's [guardian]*, *Senebsuma*² (94.1583); *the . . . of the beer-cellar*,³ *[Pebes]*⁴ (94.1575, hematite).

Mention of the Theban god Amon dates other names and titles in the Empire. Thus one finds: *the overseer of the prophets of Amon, Hapu* (94.1548); *the overseer of the double granary of Amon, Thuti, deceased*



94.1573

94.1575

94.1582

¹ A guardsman *Ku* is mentioned on a Middle Kingdom stela (*Beschreibung der ägyptischen Sammlung . . . in Leiden*, vol. 2, no. 52, pl. XL).

² This name is quite common; see Lieblein, *Dictionnaire de noms hiéroglyphiques*. Its order of writing is inverted only once (in his no. 1797), but the order of reading is clear from the parallel feminine form *Senebsuma* in no. 396 (Berlin 7288). A Vienna stela, Lieblein's no. 551 (not among those published in 1906 by Wreszinski), names a Senebsuma with apparently the same title.

³ The same title occurs on stela Berlin 7300.

⁴ So Breasted.

(94.1549-50); the second priest of Amon, Piemre (94.1555); ¹the rower of Amon of Thebes¹ (94.1576);² the king's-scribe, Amenhotep (94.1580).²

The late Empire or Decadence scarabs of the great prophet of Khnum, Nesi¹—¹ (94.1571), and the keeper of the regalia of the Linen-house (94.1572) are dated by the type of name and by the signs used respectively.

C. DIVINE SCARABS.—The names, titles, or figures of various gods, which frequently appear alone on scarabs, are clearly of amuletic value.



94.1598

94.1599

94.1621
(back)94.1621
(base)

Among the numerous Amon scarabs the god is once called *lord of eternity, sole one in his being* (94.1598). Again (94.1599) he is *Amon-Re, king of the gods, the sole lord*. In 94.1606, with the name *Amon-Re* at top, that god stands facing Khonsu and Ptah. Amon and Harakhte, the latter with hawk head, sun disk, and uraeus, appear on 94.1608, of turquoise. Ptah again is the chief figure in 94.1612-16. The Osiris pillar before him in 94.1614-15 bears Maat, the goddess personifying truth and justice.³ The sun god Horus is shown hawk-headed, holding a staff, and often (as in 94.1618-19) attended by the uraeus symbolizing Uto, patron goddess of the North. The Horus scarabs, as shown by their style, are mostly of Middle Kingdom date. No. 94.1621 has four sprays and a lotus blossom on the back.⁴ A conventional Hathor head with uraei (94.1624) contrasts with a decorative development where the sistrum effect is missing and the uraei have become mere loops (94.1623). Set is represented by

¹ At festivals the god's image sailed in his own splendid barque upon the river.

² This man was named for his king; the name means *Amon resists*.

³ In 94.1615 she is represented by her symbol, the feather.

⁴ Cf. 94.1543.

his animal (94.1625). Thoth as moon god is symbolized in 94.1629 by a baboon wearing on his head full moon and crescent; before him stands the feather of Maat (Truth, Righteousness). This design as a whole may amount to a prayer that Thoth, who presides over the balances at the judgment of the dead, may find the deceased righteous. The folk gods Bes and Toëris also occur (94.1611 and 1626-28 respectively).

D. WISH SCARABS.—Wishes on these amulets¹ are often expressed in such abbreviated form that their very nature, to say nothing of their exact meaning, is obscured. They are here subdivided according as the wish is joined with royal titles or epithets, joined with names or figures of gods without mention of the king, or without mention of king or gods.

The king's earliest title, *Horus*, appears in 94.1631 with the epithet *living forever*. On 94.1632 the king as Horus wears the double crown; beside him are the signs for *good* and *righteous*. Were these qualities sought *from* or *for* the king? His commonest title is included in the wish of 94.1635: *Live² the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lord of millions of years*. Other scarabs call him the *King of Lower Egypt* only; so 94.1645, where he is thus referred to at the sides below the sacred eyes, while the center column reads: *May there flourish life, duration, and satisfaction*.³ These are qualities regularly intended for the king. In 94.1640 *the lord of the Two Lands* kneels to present an offering; behind him is a petition for *beauty* or *good (things)* (for the good and the beautiful are one in Egyptian speech). The posture here unites with the previous indications to prove the king the beneficiary. Again, in 94.1648 Hapi (the Nile), papyrus plant on head, kneels to present *many royal libations*, while below stands the wish: *(Long) live the son of Re. . . .*⁴

Among the gods besought, Amon is naturally prominent on Empire scarabs. One finds, for example: *(May) Amon-Re (give) life and being* (94.1652); *may Amon, lord of Thebes, favor (me) with breath* (94.1656);⁵ *(may) Amon (give) every good thing* ¹*(for) the praised one (=the deceased)*¹

¹ But even wish and decorative scarabs might be seals as well. Cf. the XII. Dynasty clay impressions shown in Ayrton, Currelly, and Weigall, *op. cit.*, pt. 3, pl. xxxix.

² The sign of *life* is written twice. Since a word for *ear* has the same spelling, this may perhaps be instead the common title: *The two ears of the King. . . .*

³ Or possibly: *(May) Uto (give) life. . . .*

⁴ It may, however, still be true that wishes in the king's behalf were supposed, by gaining his good will, to react in favor of the scarab's owner.

⁵ Similar to Newberry, *op. cit.*, pl. xxxix 11. Nos. 94.1653-55 bear a longer wish of the same tenor.

(94.1658-59). In the last a lotus bud, symbolizing the life hereafter (?),¹ grows out of the sign for *praised*. A hematite scarab of rare Ptolemaic date, to judge by the signs used, appeals more directly: *O Amon-Re, mayest thou give every good thing* (94.1663).

The sun god Re is very popular, perhaps because *Re is the good and just judge* (94.1681) and *[in the mouth of Re is truth]* (94.1683, rectangle down center). Even the barque wherein he sailed the sky is beneficent. Scarabs that figure it are abundant. They bear such mottoes as: *(While) the barque of Re watches, (there is) no fear* (94.1705).²

The hawk on a standard, as in 94.1713 and 1717, is a general symbol for god or king. Without the standard, as in 94.1712, he may represent Horus as usual. On 94.1718-19 a *Horus of estates* seems to be named (in connection with the deceased ?). A glass scarab (94.1747) has Isis (?) as a falcon hovering over the greeting: *[Come] in peace (=Welcome)!*

Atum (94.1666), Uto (?) as serpent (94.1667-71, 1777), Bastet (94.1673-74), Ptah (94.1675), Maat (94.1676), Mut (94.1677-79), Hathor in sistrum form (94.1720), Sebek as a crocodile (94.1721), and Thoth as an ibis (94.1781) also appear accompanied by the symbols of longed-for blessings.

Middle Kingdom-Hyksos wishes are often combined with decorative effects. Thus 94.1724 shows a chain of hooks around the words *good*

¹ Maintained by the late Mrs. Alice Grenfell in *Recueil de travaux*, vol. 37, p. 82 (no. 23) and p. 90 (no. 87). Mrs. Grenfell wrote several essays in an admirable attempt to get at the spirit behind the letter of scarab inscriptions. Her many valuable suggestions are, however, entangled with impossible ones often due to false interpretations found in her authorities. If the lotus bud be disregarded, one might read . . . (for) the favorite or merely . . . every good and praised thing.

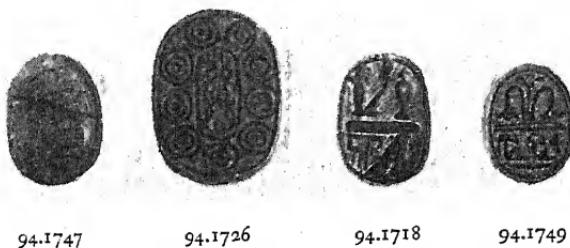
² The barque itself is recognized as divine by its inclusion in a list of deities in the British Museum papyrus 10477 (cited in the Book of the Dead, *Papyrus of Ani*, 3d ed., p. 126), as well as by magical appeals to its parts in the Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts of the Old and Middle Kingdom respectively. But, as Dr. Williams points out in a letter, on British Museum scarabs 1905-6 (in King's Catalogue) the sun disk in its barque seems to represent *Amon* in a "XXVI. Dynasty or earlier" writing of the name of Amenhotep III.



94.1648

94.1663

(things), life, and duration. On 94.1726-28 groups of concentric circles border a hope for (renewed) existence, goodly in food (=well provisioned).¹ The wish connotation of this group of scarabs is well indicated in 94.1749. Above is a lily design; below, under a winged sun disk, the two people with hand at mouth (the conventional Egyptian indication of speaking, eating, etc.) must be thought of as uttering the wish for life. Traces of gold show at the ends of the perforation. The necklace x.126 is made up



94.1747

94.1726

94.1718

94.1749

of wish scarabs and scaraboids, many of them bearing but one sign (*life, good (things), food, favor, duration, etc.*); others name *Amon* or the god.²

E. DECORATIVE AND SYMBOLIC SCARABS.—These include many varieties, such as:

The king, wearing double crown and uraeus, sitting between two obelisks (94.1778).

Two people standing with a mammoth papyrus stalk between them (94.1780).³

Hippopotamus, gazelle, and ape, the last with arms lifted in worship. Behind the gazelle and ape stands a negro (?) wearing a feather on his head (94.1783).

A prisoner (94.1786 and 1788).

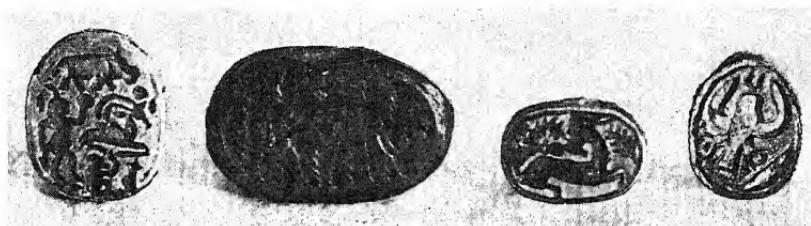
The Egyptians were particularly successful in rendering animal forms (94.1789-93 and 1795-1804). A gazelle may browse upon the herbage (94.1795), or, lying amid the verdure, smell the symbol of *life* (94.1796). A rotund pottery scarab with immense perforation (94.1801) displays birds fluttering on branches.

¹ Or may the two *nfr*-signs at top stand for Re, giving, then, the name of *Kheperkere* (Sesostris I)?

² Hawk with uraeus before him. Mrs. Grenfell holds (*op. cit.*, vol. 37, p. 88) that this sign represents the deified deceased.

³ Mrs. Grenfell (*op. cit.*, vol. 32, p. 132) refers to this type as *lotus-worship*.

The sacred eye is found alone (94.1818); again, it stands above a cat, fish, etc. (94.1803). In 94.1804, similar but without the eye, the fish has a lotus stem in its mouth.¹ The hawk is sometimes crowned to represent the king (94.1632-33 and 1808); more mystical is his appearance with lifted wings and outspread talons (94.1813). Selket is symbolized by the scorpion (94.1814-15), and Neit by her emblem, the crossed curves replacing original crossed arrows (94.1816).



94.1783

94.1795

94.1796

94.1813

Most purely decorative are the scarabs with uraei and loops (94.1820) or coils (94.1821-23), crossed ropes and coils (94.1825), and arcs and links (94.1826). The tied lotus, as on 94.1827, may well be symbolic.

F. HEART SCARABS.—A special amuletic service was performed by the so-called heart scarabs used already in the period preceding the Empire to represent the heart of the deceased. They were normally made of a hard, green stone and laid upon the mummy's breast under the wrappings. It was feared that upon being weighed in the judgment² before Osiris, ruler of the dead, the heart, like a second person, might testify to evil deeds committed by its owner during life. Hence the usual heart scarab inscription³ reads: *O my heart of (=received from) my mother! O my heart of my mother! O my breast of my being! Rise not against me as a witness; oppose me not in the judgment-hall; set not thy hostile ones against me before him who is in charge of the balances. Thou art my ka⁴ that is in my body, (and) Khnum, who causes my limbs to flourish. When thou ascendest to the goodly place [where provision is made for us], cause not our name to stink to the courtiers Speak not lies against me before the great god, the lord of the West* Corrupted forms of this text are incised on

¹ The fish may symbolize Isis-Hathor, and the lotus the life hereafter.

² For a description of the judgment scene as pictured in the papyrus of Ani, see p. 159.

³ Chapter 30 B in the Book of the Dead; usually incomplete on the scarabs.

⁴ The guardian spirit possessed by each individual.

94.1933-36. Ink was used instead on 94.1937. Traces of gilding remain on the back of 94.1934.

The statement on 94.1358 is unintelligible; 94.1938 has instead an offering formula: *A royal offering of Osiris (for) the priest and keeper of the regalia of Bastet, Aba,*; and 92.169 and 173 were left blank. By the time of the Restoration it was usual to sew large blue fayence scarabs, uninscribed, upon the mummy wrappings. No. 94.1359 shows around the edge the holes for the thread. Such scarabs were often winged; but the wings, made as separate pieces,¹ become easily lost, as in this case.

G. MISCELLANEOUS SCARAB SEALS AND AMULETS.—No. 94.1829 is unique in bearing a geographical designation, the name of the district of Assiut.

In 94.1830 some king is called *lion of Thebes, beloved of Selket.*

Nibmare, the throne name of Amenhotep III (XVIII. Dynasty), appears in an enigmatic inscription on 94.1931,² a questionable amulet as large as the same king's commemorative medals described at the end of this chapter. Omitting other obscure or enigmatic texts, a group of scarabs with blank base is to be noted. Some of these, as already mentioned, were once covered with an engraved gold plaque and used as seals. Stones represented include turquoise, lapis lazuli, carnelian, amethyst, green jasper, and hematite. A final scarab group consists of small XXVI. Dynasty-Ptolemaic amulets realistically made without a base. Nos. 94.1932, 92.171, and 93.91 are perforated crosswise underneath. This type has been found over the throat of the mummy, as one in the magic series which constituted his armor against the dangers of the hereafter.³ No. 92.165, unperforated, could be held in place by the notches at each end and along the under side.

PLAQUES

Plaques are found in many forms: with both sides flat, with back convex, or with figures on the back in high relief, sometimes almost in the round. In outline they may be rectangular, oval, cartouche- or even horseshoe-shaped. Their designs are as diverse as those on the scarabs proper.

¹ Cf. the bead mummy net 94.968.

² Professor Newberry considers this a forgery. It certainly does not link up readily with other known "enigmatic" documents, and many of its signs are abnormal in shape. Yet it seems to have passed the inspection of Mr. Murch.

³ Hall, *op. cit.*, p. xx.

Plaques flat on both sides regularly bear designs on both faces. They date mostly from the Empire or later, and the amuletic element is usually apparent. Thus on 94.1337 (rectangular) the king *Okheprure* (Amenhotep II of the XVIII. Dynasty) offers incense to *Amon-Re*, whose seated figure appears on the reverse, while figures of Ptah and Horus occupy the edges. On 94.1339 an unnamed king, *the good god, lord of the Two Lands*, is seated in a barque. On the other side he shoots from his chariot against the foe. No. 94.1340 shows *the mayor of the City* (Thebes), *the vizier, Perehotep, deceased*, as he is described on one face, praying on the other before the cartouche of his lord, Ramses II. The desire of *being in Karnak*, where Amon's great Theban temple was located, is expressed on the carnelian plaque 94.1343. One of the most beautifully cut specimens (94.1352), of green jasper, asks *life* for the king (pictured as a lion) on one side, and shows *a libation* on the other.

An oval plaque, 94.1365, names on one side *the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre* (Thutmose III), *beloved of Amon-Re*; on the other he is *beloved of Ptah the gracious*,¹ to whom he is presenting the symbol of *life*. On 94.1375 a Hathor head with uraei is paired with a figure of Bes. Both these deities concerned themselves with women.

The cartouche form begins as early as the XII. Dynasty. No. 94.1317 names *Khakheperre* (Sesostris II) on one side and his son and co-regent *Khekure* (Sesostris III) on the other. No. 94.1318 has *Nematre* (Amenemhet III) on each side. The god Sebek, especially prominent in the Middle Kingdom, is shown on the edges of 94.1327. Hatshepsut, Thutmose III, Ramses II and IV, and Ahmose (XXVI. Dynasty?) are mentioned on later royal plaques. *Opening the double doors of the horizon (for) him who is therein* (the sun god) is one theme of 94.1329.²

¹ Spiegelberg proves this meaning for the epithet *nfr hr* in *Zeitschrift für äg. Sprache*, vol. 53, p. 115.

² Other side obscure.



Even plaques with convex back are often decorated on both sides. The back of one (94.1332) has the good god *Makere* (Queen Hatshepsut) as a lion-sphinx carved in openwork. *Amenhotep (III), ruler of Thebes*, is called by his personal name *Nibmare* on the hemi-cylindrical back of 94.1287. The back of 94.1289, half of an octagon, bears wishes for *life* and *good (things)*.



94.1332



94.1287

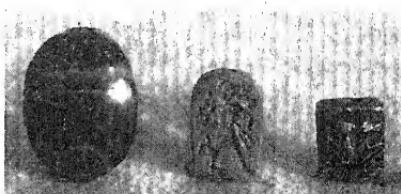


94.1289

Passing from rectangular to oval, the moon god *Khonsu*, *he whose image is beautiful*, may be seen on the backs of 94.1873-74, on the former in delicate low relief, on the latter coarsely incised. He

is hawk-headed, wears full moon and crescent, and holds on his knee the feather of truth. Many oval plaques bear designs on the base only. Among these are 94.1860, in green jasper, with the name of *Horus, the beloved son of Isis*, and 94.1869, a wish for *every good thing*. The beautiful agate, 94.1872, is uninscribed. One horseshoe-shaped specimen of pottery, 94.1879, with plain back and a standing god (?) figured on the base, looks like an Asiatic product. Scarabs, etc., made by native craftsmen along Egyptian lines have indeed been turned up in many ruined towns of Syria and Palestine.

The little figures that stand forth so prominently on the backs of other plaques include many vivid symbols of Egyptian gods. The deformed *Pataikoi* (94.1880-82) are, as we saw on p. 129, connected with *Ptah*. The squatting baboons of 94.1885-89 probably symbolize *Thoth* as moon god, for on 94.1884 a baboon wears the full moon and crescent. No. 94.1353, with two baboons, back to back, is dated by the cartouches of *Zeserkere Amenhotep (I)* in the early XVIII. Dynasty. The hippopotamus monstrosity *Toëris* (94.1890-91 and 1355), the cow of *Hathor* (94.1892-93), the cat of *Bastet* (94.1894-96) are matched by other creatures: hare (94.1897), hedgehog (94.1898), swan (94.1899) and ducks (94.1901-2), frogs (94.1906-11) and fish (94.1912-16). If the model of a single scarab beetle was efficacious, would not several be more powerful? So 94.1903 has two scarabs modeled side by side;



94.1872

94.1879

94.1353

and 94.1356-57¹ have fifteen apiece. The crocodile of Sebek is used to petition the latter for *life* (94.1905). A grasshopper (94.1904) bears the name of Thutmose III.

The sacred eye, representing that of Horus, which he recovered from Set and bestowed upon his father Osiris and which thereafter became the type and symbol of all offerings to the dead, has been already described among the amulets on p. 126. Scaraboids of this type are sometimes in relief (94.1921-23), sometimes in openwork (94.1917-20). Here, too, the left eye (94.1922-23) is occasionally found in place of the customary right. Nos. 94.1917-19 are dated by the cartouche of *Nibmare* (Amenhotep III) on their bases, while 94.1920 has a prayer for *life*. On 94.1921 the same prayer is definitely addressed to *Hathor*, *mistress of Dendera*.

KINDRED FORMS OF SEALS AND AMULETS

Cowroid shapes (94.1296-1301 and 1304-16) belong mostly to the XVIII. Dynasty. Royal names and prayers to various deities for *good (things)* are the commonest subjects. In a few examples (94.1292-95) the face is practically round. Two long lentoid beads of coarse fayence (94.1302-3) are inscribed for *the son of Re, Shabaka, living forever* (XXV. Dynasty).

Needs of successive generations for metal have prevented the rings in which scarabs were often mounted from surviving as frequently as have the scarabs themselves. The few in this collection are described with the metal jewelry.² The end of the XVIII. Dynasty saw ring and bezel made also in one piece of metal or of stone.³ On this latter type were modeled the amuletic rings of fayence bearing royal and divine names and symbols discussed on p. 84. Another variety of one-piece fayence ring, with elongated curved bezel heavy enough to serve ostensibly as a seal, was made during the Decadence. Our example (94.1925) shows an obscure inscription (beginning lost) placed vertically within a cartouche.

A large rectangular seal of brown limestone with oblong handle (94.1291) bears the names and epithets of Ptolemy XI (Alexander I) and his queen Cleopatra IV (Berenice III).⁴ The smallness and crowding of its hieroglyphs are characteristic of the Ptolemaic age.

¹ XVIII. Dynasty, shown by the name *Amenhotep* on their bases.

² See p. 111.

³ See p. 111 and 100.

⁴ Numbered as in Budge, *Book of kings*, vol. 2.

The folk god Bes between two captives is deeply incised on the flat circular base of 94.1924. The back of this steatite object has been flaked away, so that its original form is uncertain.

Two Persian seals (94.723 and 93.50¹) of the Achaemenian period (550-330 B.C.), during much of which time Persia was in control of Egypt, are also included in the collection. They are of agate in the usual high-domed form, rather crudely bored for suspension but with base elegantly



94.1924



94.1291

carved. One shows two gazelles or mountain goats facing each other within a circular wreath border. On the oval base of the other stands a tree between two gods or genii.

COMMEMORATIVE SCARABS

The same symbolism which had made the scarab a model for seals and amulets found other expressions also. In the XVIII. Dynasty King Amenhotep III (1411-1375 B.C.) issued at least five types of large commemorative medals in scarab form. One recorded a notable accession to his harem: an Asiatic princess from Naharin² with 317 attendant maidens. Another celebrated the completion of a pleasure lake for his chief queen, Tiy. A third glorified the vastness of the Egyptian empire, whose boundaries in Amenhotep's day extended from Karoy at the Fourth

¹ This is the number marked on the object, but it does not correspond to the original register entry.

² The region lying within the great upper bend of the Euphrates.

Cataract in the Sudan northward to Naharin in Asia. The remaining two describe the king's prowess as a huntsman, of wild cattle and of lions respectively. Of the latter type, three copies are exhibited (94.1928-30). The first half of their text is occupied with the full titulary of the king and queen, leaving comparatively little space for the narrative. The whole reads:

Live Horus, the victorious bull, crowned in Thebes; he of the two goddesses,¹ establisher of laws, tranquilizer of the Two Lands; Horus victorious over the Ombite (Set), great of sword, smiter of the Asiatics; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nibmare; son of Re, Amenhotep (III), given life, (and) the king's-wife Tiy, living. Statement of lions which his majesty brought down by his own shooting from the year 1 (of his reign) up to the year 10: fierce lions, 102.

•
MONUMENTAL SCARABS

Of the huge stone scarabs from Egyptian temples,² the best known is a Saite or Ptolemaic one of green granite, uninscribed, now in the British Museum. It will have belonged originally at Heliopolis, but was carried by the Romans to Constantinople, whence Lord Elgin brought it to England. Its plinth and base, five feet long, are all of one piece with the beetle. Another type, found at Karnak and dated by a long Empire inscription, is cut resting upon a tall pedestal.

¹ Nekhbet and Uto, the patronesses of South and North.

² Not represented in this collection.

XII

PAPYRI

All the inscriptions which have so far been interpreted¹ are in hieroglyphic. This preserves the actual pictures out of which Egyptian writing was originally built up. But for everyday use in letters and business documents the Egyptian was no readier than we should be to waste time by carving pictures in stone or drawing them with laborious detail on pottery or wood. So he developed a simpler technique, seen in the manuscript 94.180 (see p. 157). This was² made possible by the papyrus plant, whose tall stalks flourished in all the swamps and pools. The long strips into which sections of the stalk could be cut lengthwise were glued together side by side and crossed at right angles by another similar layer. When pressed, dried, and scraped, a flexible sheet of vegetable fiber, the direct ancestor of our modern paper, was produced. On such papyrus sheets or rolls (for the sheets were usually glued together into strips of the desired length) the Egyptian scribe wrote rapidly with pen and ink as do we, his cultural descendants. But a modern split pen point would have been ill suited to the soft, unglazed surface of his papyrus; so the Egyptian softened the end of his reed pen, probably by chewing it, until it formed a sort of tuft with which he practically painted his characters. His black ink was of soot suspended in a solution of gum and water; his palette always carried red ink also, similarly made with iron oxide, and regularly used for headings and catchwords. This custom, passing into European manuscripts, survives today in printed rubrics. The papyrus was ordinarily held in the unsupported left hand, except when the roll was extremely long and heavy, in which case the scribe might squat and spread it across his knees; the pen met it at a right or slightly acute angle. As the writing surface was unrolled from the left so as to come under the pen held in the right hand, the lines and columns naturally progressed from right to left, reversing our own method.

¹ Except Amenhotep's memoranda on 92.36-39 (p. 20) and 92.234 (p. 64).

² The rest of this paragraph is excerpted by permission from the writer's article on *Hieroglyphics* in the *Encyclopedia Americana*, vol. 14 (1919), p. 173. Early writing processes are described more fully, with illustrations, by Breasted in *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, vol. 32 (1915/16), p. 230-49.

In drawing on papyrus the brush-pen naturally gave to the hieroglyphs a bolder, more cursive form. The resulting *hieratic* system of writing parallels the hieroglyphic for almost three thousand years, being related to the latter much as modern handwriting is to print.

Hieratic was, as seen above, reserved originally for secular purposes. Religion, with its universal conservatism, long demanded the more primitive style of writing. The Pyramid Texts, from which came the quotation on p. 135, were cut in hieroglyphic into fine limestone blocks that lined the chambers and passages of V. and VI. Dynasty pharaohs' pyramid tombs at Sakkara. That earliest great body of religious literature sought the welfare of the king only. But by the Middle Kingdom the blessings of the hereafter might be shared by the non-royal. The Coffin Texts of that period are likewise in hieroglyphic,¹ though written

¹ In drawing the hieroglyphs varying skill and care are shown, so that certain signs often approach the hieratic form. But strictly hieratic script appears, as far as is yet known, on only one coffin of the period. The coffin itself is lost. But its inscriptions survive in a facsimile made by Sir Gardner Wilkinson, first noted by Goodwin in *Zeitschrift für äg. Sprache*, vol. 4 (1866), p. 53, and since reproduced by Budge, *Facsimiles of Egyptian hieratic papyri in the British Museum*, pl. XXXIX-XLVIII.



in ink on the inner side of the coffin planks. As time went on, the priests found it profitable to discover new dangers in the other world and correspondingly new methods for surmounting them. Under the Empire, then, the interior of one's coffin no longer offered adequate space for the necessary charms, hymns, and prayers. A papyrus roll, however, could be made of any length. Empire documents in that form, which accompanied the deceased in his coffin, are commonly called by modern writers the Book of the Dead. This was not a book, however, in the ordinary sense; for its contents varied from copy to copy according to individual wealth and preferences or the vagaries of the dealer's stock. Until the XXI. Dynasty, even the Book of the Dead was regularly written in hieroglyphic;¹ then the more facile hieratic began to be employed. As its very name reveals, this had by the time of Greek contact with Egypt become the recognized "priestly" style of writing.

The Art Institute manuscript 94.180 is, then, a hieratic Book of the Dead dating from the XXI. Dynasty. Its first page (at right) pictures in color (with label in hieroglyphic) *the house-mistress, the singing-woman of Amon-Re the king of the gods, Tayuhenutmut, 'daughter' of the treasury-scribe Nesipahirenhet, deceased*, standing with hands lifted in prayer before the seated god *Osiris, presider over the West, lord of Abydos, Wennofer, lord of eternity*. The name of Nesipahirenhet occurs on objects from the second Deir el-Bahri find described on p. 68;² our lady's burial equipment was presumably deposited in the same cache.³

The various independent sections out of which a Book of the Dead was compiled are commonly but somewhat misleadingly designated as "chapters." Tayuhenutmut's papyrus is exceedingly brief. Its three pages of text contain only chapters 23–26 and part of 28. These deal respectively with *opening a man's mouth for him, bringing a man's magic to him, causing that <a man> remember his name, giving a man's heart <to him>*, and *not letting the heart of Osiris the singing-woman of Amon, Tayuhenutmut, deceased, be taken from him (!) in the after life*. The uniformity and even spacing of the script, as well as the notation of her name at the upper edge of the first sheet, would indicate that our document was written expressly for its owner. Often, however, this was not the case. Various stock rolls have come down in which the dealer forgot to

¹ Naville, *Das ägyptische todtenbuch: Einleitung*, p. 32–33.

² Lieblein, *Dictionnaire de noms hiéroglyphiques*, no. 2544b.

³ Though Daressy in *Annales du Service*, vol. 8 (1907), p. 3–38, does not mention her.

insert his customer's name. Ours seems to have been specially copied instead, but evidently from a roll prepared for a man.

More elaborate Books of the Dead frequently include a vignette of the judgment which the deceased was supposed to undergo before Osiris. In the papyrus of Ani, for example,¹ Ani's heart and the feather symbolic of Maat, the goddess of righteousness, occupy the two scale pans of a great balance in the center. Anubis has charge of the weighing, while Fate stands close by. Behind the latter are two birth goddesses and the soul as a human-headed bird. Ani and his wife stand at the left, dressed as in life. The latter rattles her sistrum while Ani prays the prayer already seen on heart scarabs.² On the other side Thoth, the scribe of the gods, with pen poised awaits the verdict. Back of him crouches "the Devouress," a hideous compound of crocodile, lioness, and hippopotamus, ready to annihilate any who do not endure the test. But Ani is fortunate, for the vindication of his righteousness is written immediately above the beast. Yet rolls containing this verdict of acquittal were for sale to all comers. Herein the Egyptian priesthood reached the limit of its daring intrusion into the hereafter.

¹ The Book of the Dead. *Facsimile of the papyrus of Ani in the British Museum*, pl. 3.

² See p. 149.

XIII

GRAECO-EGYPTIAN PAINTINGS

Egyptian painting has in earlier chapters been mentioned only incidentally. Coffin decoration, tomb reliefs or frescoes, and even illustrations in papyrus manuscripts, were but too regularly the work of the artisan rather than the artist. In any case, portraits were rare. In few instances has the sculptor-painter produced an individual. Portrait paintings such as this chapter is to take up were an achievement of the Greeks, grafted upon Egyptian customs.

Greek influence in Egypt had become prominent already in the XXVI. Dynasty, 600 years before Christ, when Greek mercenary troops were employed and the trading community of Naucratis flourished. With the founding of Alexandria additional impetus was given to the spread of all phases of Greek culture. The foreigners began in turn to adopt mummification, while under the Romans this Egyptian practice availed itself to some extent of foreign technique and skill. The faces carved on mummiform coffins (p. 10) or molded in cartonnage masks (p. 16) had been thoroughly conventionalized. But now the mummy *portrait* begins. The date of its prevalence seems to center around the second century after Christ.

Portraiture in Greek style occurs in two forms. Most like the earlier Egyptian cartonnage faces are masks modeled in thick plaster. But practically contemporary with them are found busts or portraits painted on canvas and finally portraits painted on wooden panels. The normal procedure in painting was first to outline the picture in black. Then the background and drapery were washed in, while the flesh would be reproduced with thick wax instead. Distemper and encaustic processes are thus usually combined. But the "encaustic" process in Egypt may, according to Petrie's investigations, have involved no cestrum but only a brush with pointed handle, its bristles sometimes soft with wax liquified by the Egyptian sun, sometimes stiffer as the wax solidified.

Already in the seventeenth century Pietro della Valle had brought from Sakkara some paintings on canvas which are now in Dresden. But



22.4798



22.4799

of the panel type, to which the two Art Institute portraits 22.4798-99 belong, before 1888 only some half-dozen were known and the authenticity of even these was disputed. In that year, however, there arrived in Europe a series of sixty-six paintings, mostly panels, purchased by Theodor Graf, of Vienna, from finds made but not appreciated by native salt-diggers at er-Rubiyat (ancient Philadelphia) in the Faiyum. That same winter of 1887/88 Professor Petrie, working at Hawara at the mouth of the Faiyum, recorded eighty-one. His excavations first revealed how the panels were used; for he found them bandaged into the wrappings over the faces of mummies. In the next few years Herr Graf acquired about thirty additional specimens. Just before his death in 1903, his collection began to be sold and scattered. The only other extensive discovery of painted portraits, sixty-five in number, was made by Professor Petrie, working again at Hawara, in 1911. But even at Hawara, says Petrie, "the portraits are so rare that they do not reward work on a small scale. Our work was restricted to regions where portraits might probably be

found, but on the average each digger only obtained one in six weeks, excluding those examples whose condition made them worthless."¹

Though all the panels just mentioned were found in burials, many at least had clearly been cut down to fit a non-original situation. In fact, the hacked-off fragments were sometimes found thrust out of sight among the mummy wrappings. Moreover, Petrie found one picture frame, grooved for glass (now broken out and lost), still containing the remains of a portrait panel.² So it is fair to conclude with him that these paintings were made primarily to hang in the home. They differ widely, of course, both in artistic quality and in the attractiveness of their subjects, as well as in state of preservation.

The Art Institute is fortunate in all except the matter of preservation of its two paintings. Both represent Greek types.³ One (22.4799) is a youth with a golden laurel wreath upon his curly hair. His gaze is frank and open, his expression almost tender. The other (22.4798) is a melancholy man perhaps in his thirties; his cheeks, lips, and narrow chin are outlined with hairy growth. The golden wreath upon his head is of ivy. This latter panel well shows the way in which the linen of the mummy wrappings was often used to frame the picture in its mortuary use. How faithfully the subjects of such portraits have been rendered by the artist is a point which can still be tested, for the actual heads of some of Petrie's mummies were sent to Cambridge for treatment and restoration by Professor Macalister.⁴

¹ *Roman portraits and Memphis (IV)*, p. 1.

² *Ibid.*, p. 7.

³ Of the mixed population of the Faiyum in the Roman period, the Greek was evidently the most prominent element. On the few named portraits the names are Greek. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 14 and pl. II. A boy with name is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 8 This volume contains four reproductions in color. Twenty-four more in color make up the *Hawara portfolio*. Besides these publications, cf. the earlier accounts in Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu, and Arsinoe*. Edgar in his *Graeco-Egyptian coffins, masks, and portraits* (in the Cairo Catalogue) studied in detail the internal evidence yielded by the hair styles, jewelry, etc., corroborating in general Petrie's original dating. Some disproved theories are mingled with the facts in Ebers, *The Hellenic portraits from the Fayum at present in the collection of Herr Graf, with some remarks on other works of this class . . .* (New York, 1893), as also in the *Katalog zu Theodor Graf's galerie antiker porträts* (Vienna, 1903). An English edition of the latter omits some portions. The history of our two paintings before they came into the possession of their donor, Mrs. E. Crane Chadbourne, is at present untraceable. But they are most like some of those in the Graf collection. In fact, 22.4799 may perhaps be Graf's no. 27, one of the few of which no reproduction was accessible to the writer.

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